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The Century Social Science Series

THE OUTLINES OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

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"Changing America," "South of Panama," "Russia in Upheaval,"
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TO MY DEAR WIFE,
ROSAMOND,
BEST OF HELPERS AND INSPIRERS,
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

TO TEACHERS OF THIS TEXT

Here is my *Principles of Sociology* cut down a third, rearranged, rephrased and equipped for the class room. Still, I advise teachers who have been using *Principles* as a text not to discard it for this book. It is fuller, and as for the "exercises," they can be had of the publisher in pamphlet form and placed in the hands of each student. *Outlines of Sociology* is provided in order to meet the demand for a shorter text for the use of those who cannot devote as much as a semester to the subject.

My thirty-two years of trying to impart Sociology to university students have resulted in a technique which teachers of this book may like to know about. Now that my system of Sociology is to be had between covers I do not lecture. I lead discussions. My class is broken up into sections not to exceed twenty-five members. Each student has his appointed seat and a glance over the section enables me to record absences on the seating chart before me. At the beginning of the course every student is supplied with an "assignment sheet" (to be pasted inside the back cover of his text), which shows exactly what will be required of him for every session in the semester.

After ten or twelve minutes of sharp quizzing (here is where the "quiz questions" come in) we take up the "exercises." If those pertaining to the assigned lesson exceed five in number, the student answers only *alternate* exercises, those sitting in odd-number seats answering odd-number exercises and those sitting in even-number seats answering even-number exercises. The student is expected to have wrestled with the exercises *in advance* and to bring with him *written* solutions. His paper is not to be handed in but is there as evidence that the student has given enough consideration to the problems to formulate and write down answers. When, after reading out an exercise I call upon Reed or Daly for an answer, he is not to *improvise*, but to read his written answer. If he has nothing in black and white he says "unprepared," even if a bright idea is on his tongue's tip. After a few answers have been considered, the question is thrown open to general discussion and then the impromptu ideas get their innings.

In these discussions the ruling aim is to rouse the students and get

them to thinking sociologically. Thus I call upon Ford to read his answer to Exercise 5. Ford reads. "Anything wrong with that?" I ask. Nye dissents and reads his own conclusion. "Defend yourself, Ford." Ford does so. Nye comes back, others chime in, and soon a discussion is in full swing and everyone interested.

My job is to guide the discussion, keep it to the main track, lift it to a new plane when it slumps, start it on a fresh track when it lags, and bring it to a head when time is up. I help out the chap who is right, but clumsy in proving it, and throw in a fact or a question which bowls over the over-confident fellow. If a division of opinion is apparent, before quitting the subject I call for a show of hands. The fact that often the class divides almost evenly proves that the exercises are real problems, not fakes. Of course, at the end I give my own opinion (if I have one) with reasons therefor, but do not offer it as something final.

Experience has taught me to demand of the student *less reading and more thinking*. Thirty years ago I would hold him for forty-odd pages of Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* at a lesson. Now, I have him cover a third as much ground but insist upon his attempting to solve real problems in the light of principles which have been developed in the assigned passage. Such a requirement makes for intensive study of the text.

This is one reason why I have not provided this book with references for supplementary reading. Another reason is that no two will agree as to the choicest passages of modern sociological literature. Let the teacher who deems close study of this text and its application to concrete problems not enough, assign his class other reading *ad libitum*. He will have his own idea of what is most worth while for his students to become acquainted with.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.

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PART I
THE SOCIAL POPULATION

Social Composition

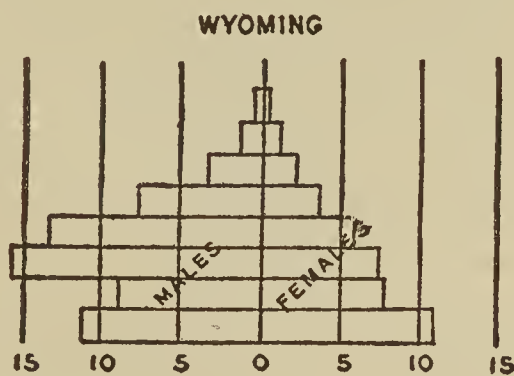
CHAPTER I

THE MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION

THE traits and tendencies of society are in no small degree determined by its human composition. It is therefore necessary to consider, first of all, how the make-up of the population varies in respect to age, sex, nativity, marital condition, and mental capacity.

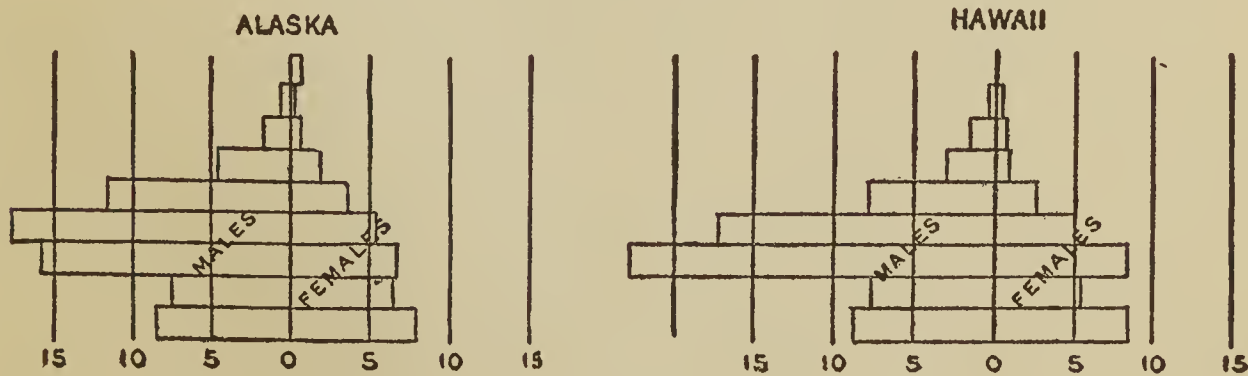
SEX

In old countries the sexes are rather evenly distributed but in the process of settling a new country the sexes become in some degree separated. Thus in the United States west of the Missouri River



there are about three men for every two women. In mining and cattle raising states like Nevada, Montana, and Wyoming the ratio is near two to one.

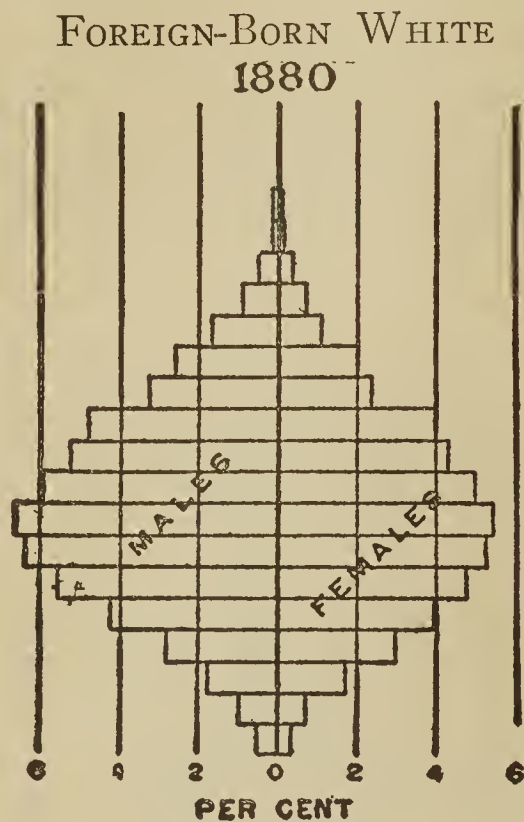
In Alaska and Hawaii the disproportion is even greater.



In general the population at grips with rude Nature will be strongly male, although it makes a difference whether the attack is on forests

and minerals or on the soil. Agriculture has more use for women than lumbering and mining.

Less hedged about than women, men are readier to break home ties and tempt fortune in a strange land. In our earlier immigration males were to females as three is to two, but in the new immigration, coming for high wages rather than for land, they were three to one. Districts losing by emigration have more women than men. South



Carolina shows 25 women to 24 men, Massachusetts 20 women to 19 men and, for the native stock, 11 women to 10 men.

Cities are magnets as well as new regions, and cities with their offer of security and a chance of self-support lure more women than the rude frontier. Hence, there are more men in the flow to new regions, but often more women in the current to the cities.

Cities, however, differ greatly in their attraction for women. *Commercial cities* abound most in opportunities for men. Very naturally Minneapolis has 115 men to 100 women; Portland, Oregon, 150; Seattle, 153; San Francisco, 144. No wonder such cities are marked by energy, daring, and prompt decision! Because of their demand for personal or domestic service, *residence cities* show an excess of women. Washington, Richmond, Cambridge, and Nashville have from 113 to 116 women for every hundred men. *Manufacturing cities* lure now men, now women, according to the character of their industry. Metal-working cities like Bridgeport, Birmingham, Pittsburgh, and De-

PROPORTION OF MALES TO FEMALES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTIES: 1910.

Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.



troit draw more men; while textile cities like Lowell, Fall River, and Paterson draw more women. All this is not to suggest that comparative economic opportunity dictates the sex composition of any community. The numerical inequalities between the sexes in different cities are but a residue which has not been overcome by sex attraction. Cupid abhors "he" towns and "she" towns, so that automatically an excess of men sets up a demand for women, and *vice versa*.

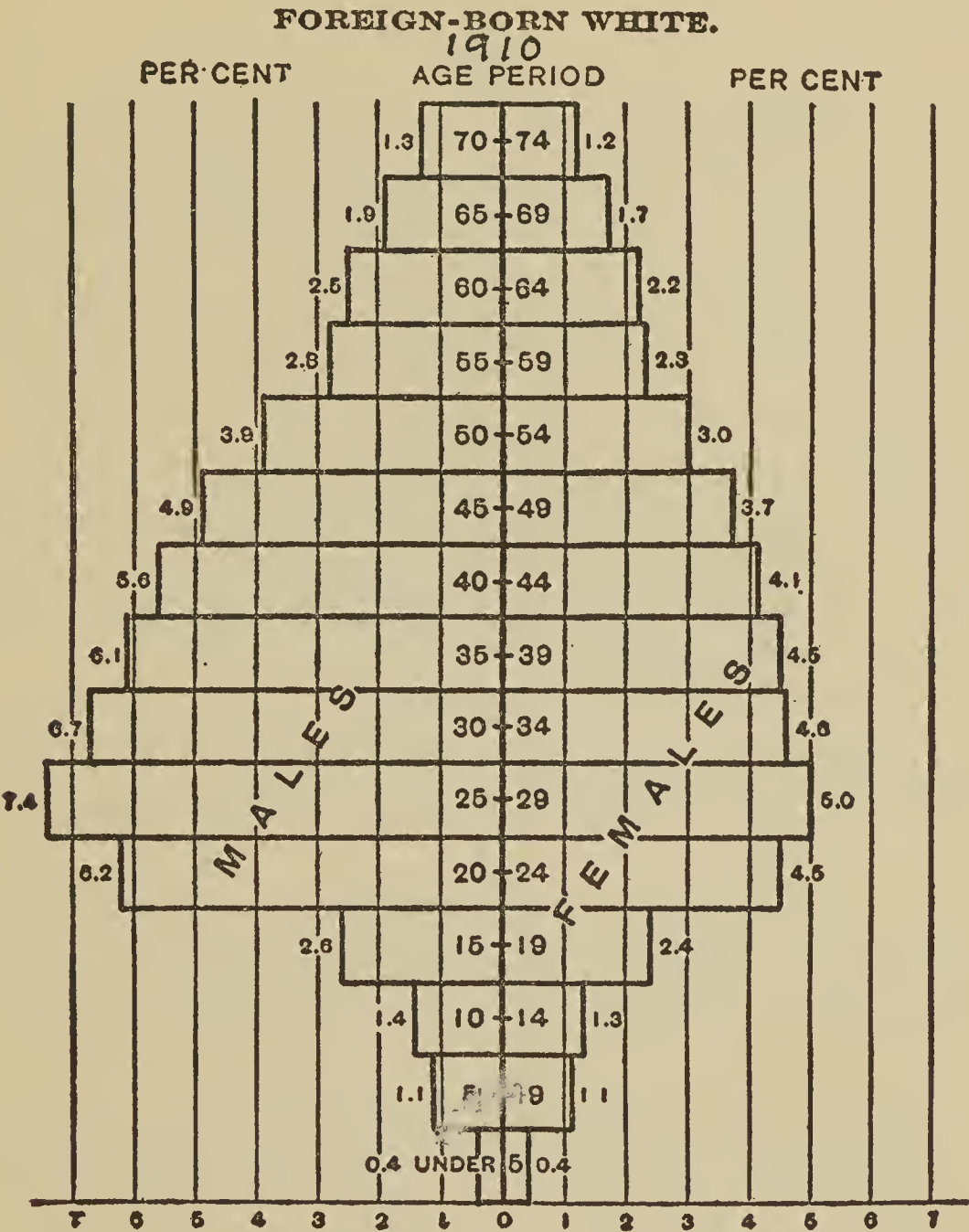
We have no means of knowing what traits an all-women community would develop, but we do know that the all-men community has a character of its own. In case it is too remote or rude to attract home-making women—e.g., in the Far North or on the rim of civilization—its population is a continual flux, for the men tire of a womanless life and presently return to "God's country" to marry and "settle down." Such a community becomes the theater of a ruthless greed, for its denizens treat it not as *home*, but as merely a *place for making money*. Since they do not think of it as *their children's country*, they butcher the land, waste its resources, and maltreat the natives. No one cares for the future of the region. Each is in haste to gather the spoil and return home. This is why Kipling declares:

"There runs no law of God nor man to the north of Fifty Three."

In the male community law is weak, public opinion scarcely exists, and each does what is right in his own eyes, save in so far as he is checked by respect for the other man's "gun." Life—one's own as well as another's—is held cheap and is staked on small issues. Suicide is frequent since often "nobody cares." The daredevil spirit prevails. Men resort gleefully to a saloon which calls itself "The Bucket of Blood." Few pay any attention to religion. It used to be said in the Northwest, "No Sunday west of Bismarck, and west of Miles City no God." Every one thinks of making his "pile" and getting away. There will be time enough then, he thinks, to look after his soul.

With the coming of women, homes, and children, the temper of the community changes. The sense of responsibility for his dependents makes the man slower in risking his own life or in taking that of another. A new-born love of quiet and security causes brawl and duel to be stamped out. Men begin to lay deep foundations for law and morality when they expect to rear their children in the community. Intemperance ceases to be a joke after the women teach their men folk to look upon it as deliberate self-poisoning. The adventuress, queen of the male community, is disowned and becomes the "fallen"

woman as wives and mothers make their influence felt. From women, who love security and abhor the wanton creation of risk, emanates a sentiment against the wild gambling by which the male community relieves its *ennui*. Unable to use the saloon as a social center and recognizing in this demoralizing male resort its deadliest enemy, the



home attacks the saloon and lops off its worst features. In the wake of women come schools, churches, and shops to help them make homes which will outpull the bar room.

The economic law that the value of anything is inversely as the supply seems to hold true of the sexes. Old societies with an excess of women are ungallant. Men keep their seats before standing women in street cars, oppose coeducation, bar women from the professions and tolerate human hyænas who prey on defenseless women. On the

other hand, in male societies like our Mountain commonwealths, men pay chivalrous homage to women, raise the age of consent, let them hold property, give them the ballot, grant them facile divorce, open to them college doors, let them help manage churches and societies, and make them jurors, school directors, and trustees of charitable institutions.

AGE

The age make-up of a population is important. Many young, if it does not mean a short average term of life, indicates rapid increase. Of extremely prolific peoples, such as Russians and Bulgarians, near *two-fifths* will be under the age of fifteen. A people moderate in fecundity and skilful in saving child life will have a *third* under fifteen. A stationary people like the French will have only a *fourth* in this age group.¹

A structure like that of the native whites of Oklahoma in 1900 indicates that people have confidence in the future and are multiplying freely. But that of Vermont for the same year shows by its narrowness toward the bottom that the economic outlook is not bright and married people are cautious.

Rapid shrinkage up through the early age groups signifies high mortality among the young. The figure for the negroes in 1880 shows clearly that the bulk of them were poor hands at bringing up their children.

In general about a fifth of the population will have reached the age of 45 years. Ireland, however, has a fourth in this age group owing to the heavy emigration of young men and women. France

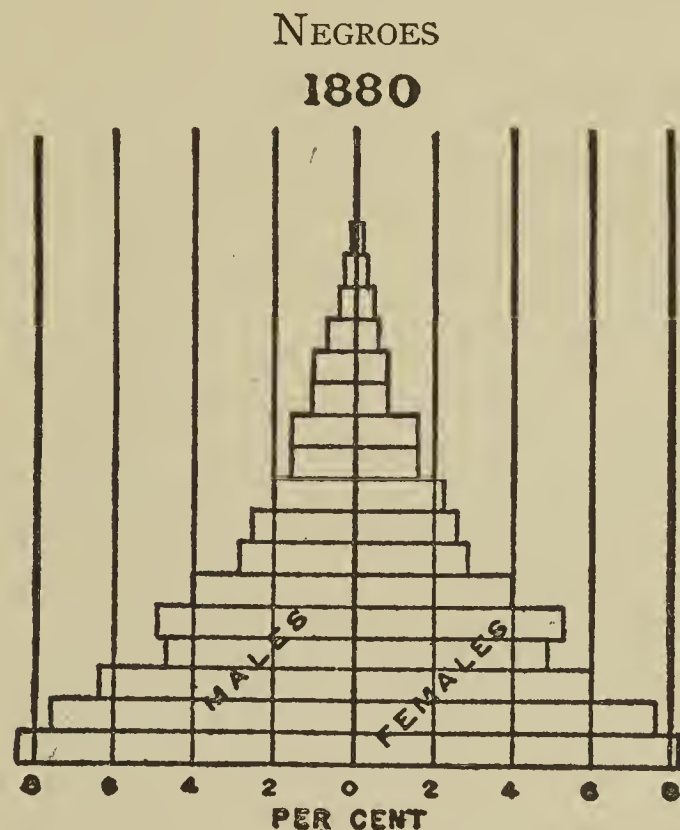
¹ Thirty years ago I found the streets of the old German towns fairly swarming with children. From the ruins of a thousand-year-old castle of Henry the Fowler near the Harz I counted 28 children and 4 old women weeding turnips in a single field. What a contrast to the French provinces! This blind fecundity was encouraged by the Kaiser and the military caste as a great prop of their design of world conquest. His maxim that woman's existence should be bounded by the four K's (*Kinder, Küche, Kleider, Kirche*, i.e., children, kitchen, clothes, and church) perfectly expresses the militarist attitude toward proletarian increase. It is no great hardship for the wealthy, with servants to care for their children, to have large families, but the poor, many of whom are forced into misery or even die untimely owing to excessive prolificacy, have to be hounded or wheedled to produce enough "cannon-fodder." So the clergy preached that God sends children and He will provide for them, and the professors taught that the Germans are the one "noble" race, while the French are degenerate and the Slavs "incapable of culture" !

Nordic-peoples from northern countries
Latin - those from the south.

THE MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION

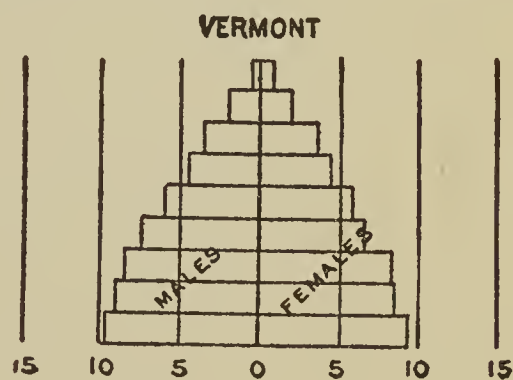
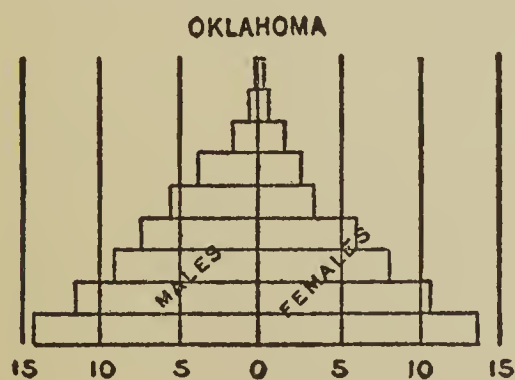
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shows near 29 per cent. above 45 years because her children groups are not well filled. Where, as in Brazil, Ceylon, and Cuba, only a seventh or an eighth of the population reaches middle age, the masses are ignorant of hygiene and do not know how to keep alive. Comparison of the population figure for native whites of native parentage in



the United States, 1890 and 1910, suggests that in the intervening twenty years great strides had been made in quelling disease and bettering hygiene.

Flight from persecution takes in due proportion from all the age groups. But a migration prompted by *economic* motives withdraws those in the earlier productive years who are least burdened by depend-

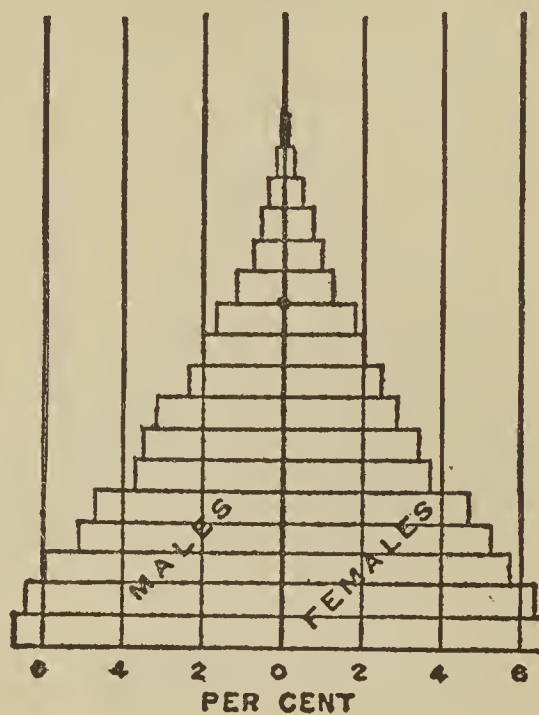


ents. Comparison of the figures of the foreign-born in the United States, 1880 and 1910, suggests that in the intervening thirty years immigration had become more economic in motive. The structure of the negroes of Delaware, Mississippi, and Nebraska in 1900 exhibits the age distribution of *normal*, *emigrant*, and *immigrant* communities.

The concave sides of the figure for Mississippi show that she has lost not a few of her young adult negroes, while the small proportion of children in Nebraska shows that the negro element there is largely a recent arrival.

In a people losing by an economic migration the ratio of dependents to supporters becomes unfavorable, while a people absorbing such a migration gains in industrial and military strength.

**NATIVE WHITE OF NATIVE PARENTAGE
1890**



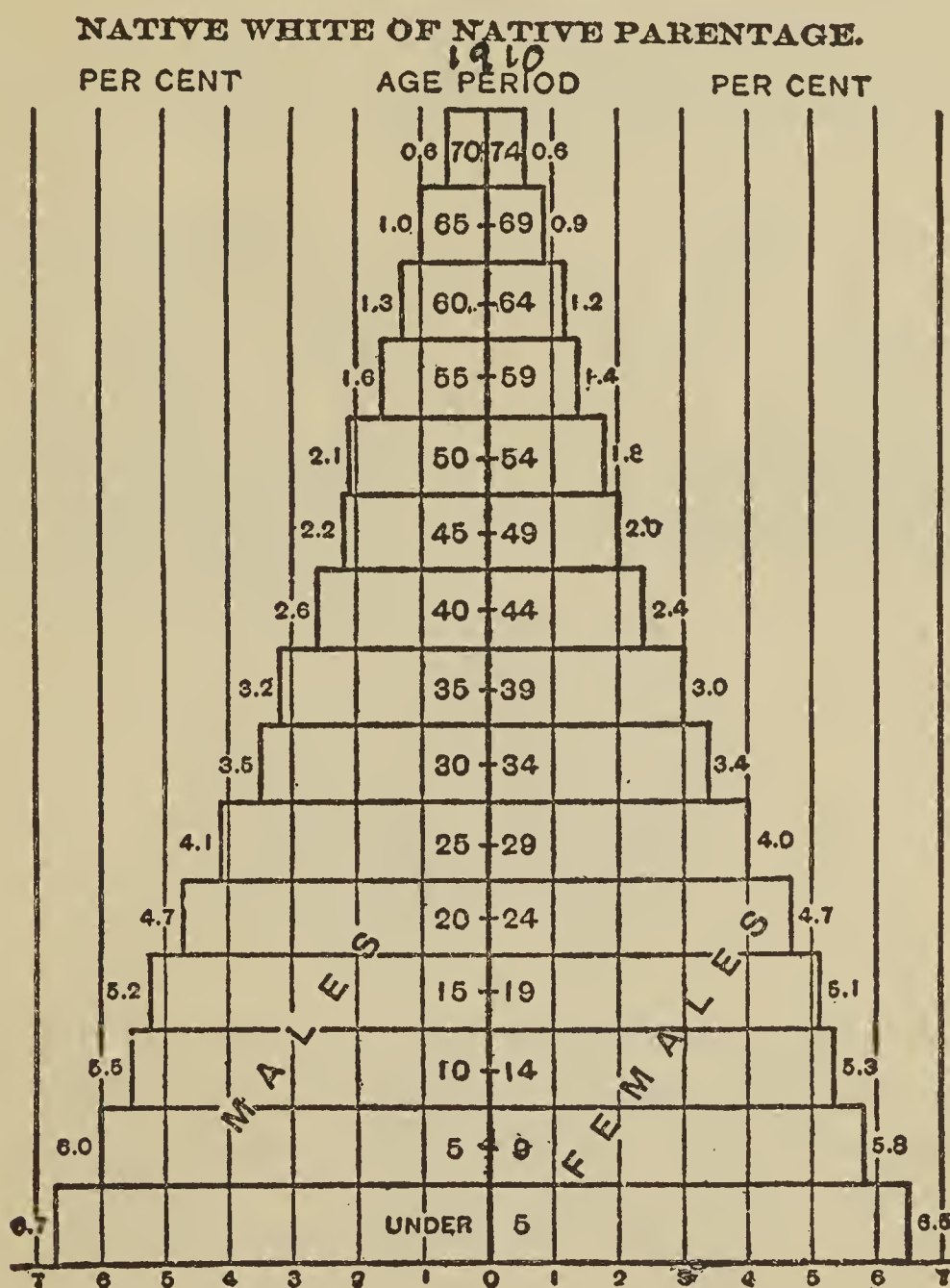
Age composition shows in the collective spirit. The community with many in the early productive years, e.g., young and rapidly growing settlements and towns, displays rare fluidity, energy, initiative, and adaptability. On the other hand, an excess of young children and of the elderly lessens venturesomeness and makes for pessimism, timidity, and indecision.

Communities with many young voters are less swayed in their political choices by partisanship and prejudice, more critical of party management, less governed by feelings from the past, and more hospitable to progressive ideas. A community dominated commercially by men from 20 to 45 years of age will reflect the *money-making* spirit and will sympathize with every form of legitimate enterprise and individual initiative. If, on the other hand, men above 45 constitute the key element, the *money-keeping* or *business-keeping* spirit will get the upper hand of the *money-making* spirit. The community will sympathize with the demand for stability and security, for safety of invest-

ments and freedom from business disturbance, rather than with the demand of the enterprising individual for a free hand and a square deal.

NATIVITY ²

A stream of immigrants may be *representative*, *sub-representative*, or *super-representative* of the people from which it comes. Religious

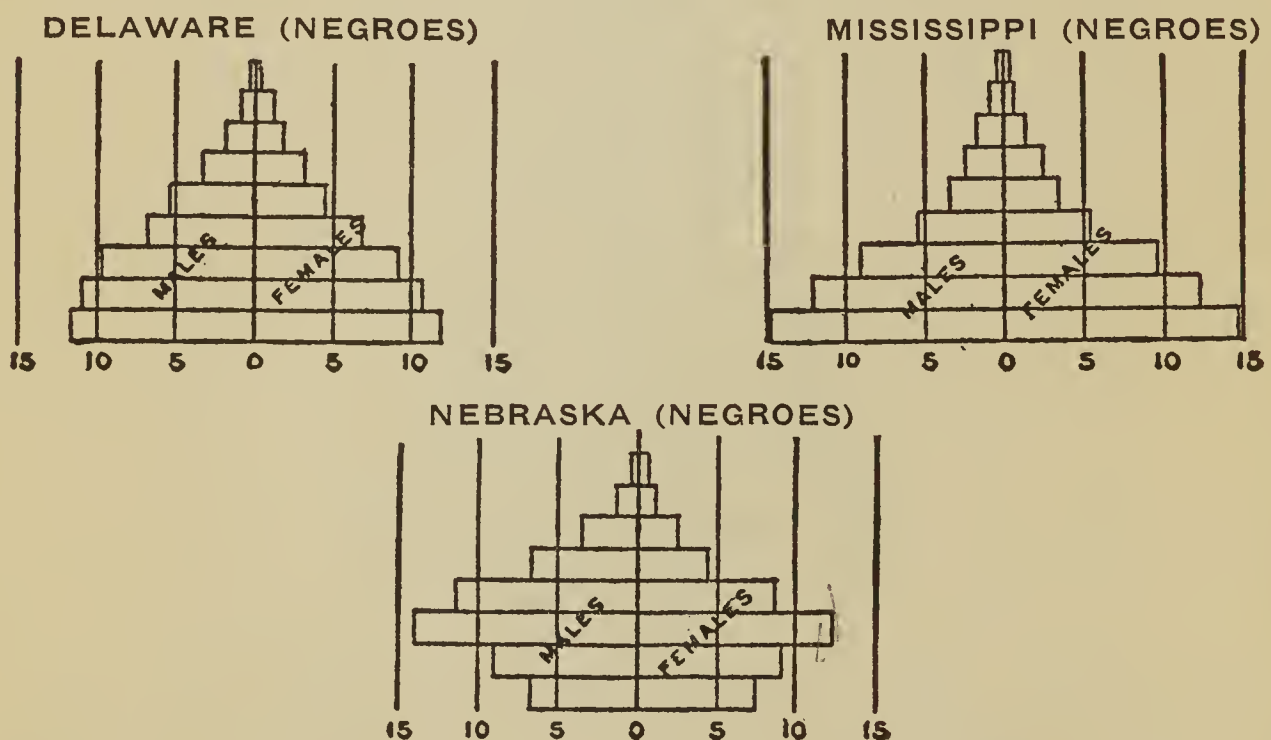


or political oppression is likely to start up a current of *super-representative* migrants because it is chiefly the superior who refuse to bend to

²At the outbreak of the World War a third of the American people were of foreign parentage, while the foreign-born numbered between sixteen and seventeen millions—certainly the largest body of strangers any people has ever engulfed. Never before did the old-American element constitute so small a proportion of the people.

the will of the powerful. The English Puritans, Quakers and Catholics, the Scotch Covenanters, the French Huguenots, the German sectaries who settled Pennsylvania, and the refugee German liberals of 1848 were among the *super-representative* elements which came to America. Discrimination against a people or a race generally causes a *representative* outflow, e.g., the Scotch Irish and the Scotch Highlanders of Colonial days as well as the streams of Armenians, Syrians, and Russian Hebrews which have come to us latterly.

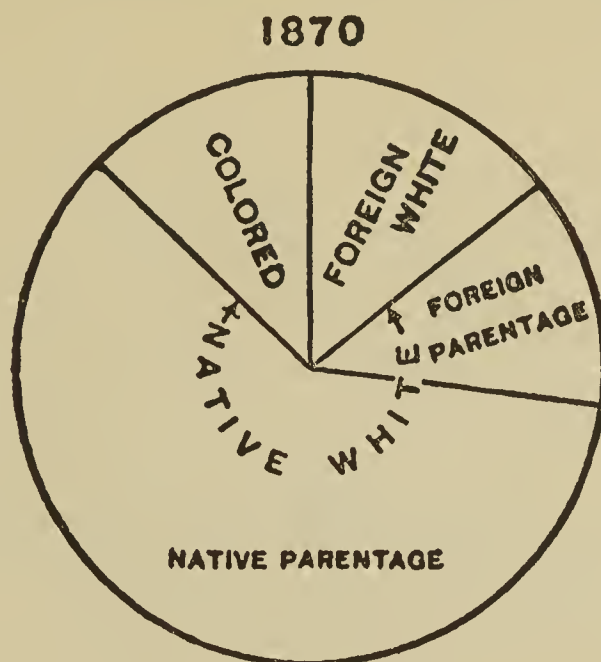
Wilderness-tamers generally surpass in energy and venturesomeness their kinsmen who stay where they were born. It is the trout



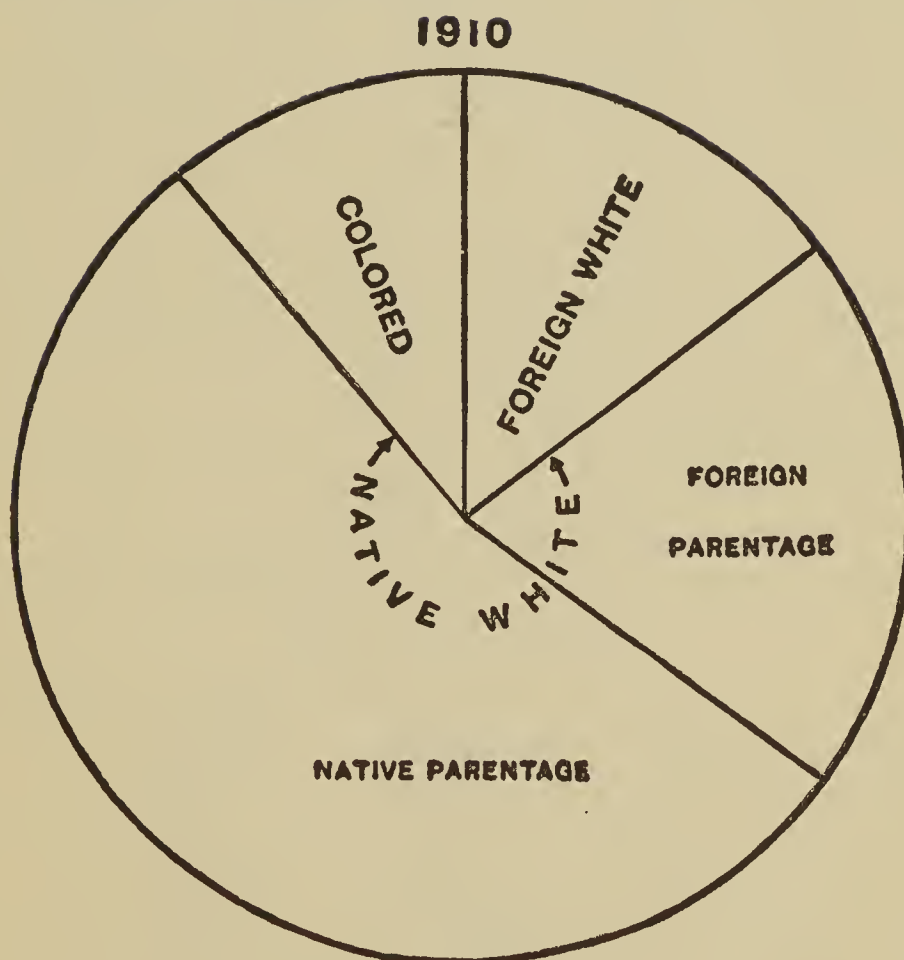
rather than the carp that find their way out of the pool into the white water. The American pioneering breed had rare courage and initiative and the European immigrants who settled in the Great West may well have topped the average of their people in these traits. Those who follow the lure of high wages in a foreign labor market will *sub-represent* their people in ability. The educated, the propertied, the established, the well-connected, having prospects at home, have no motive to submit themselves to the risks of a strange land. The heirs of success abide in their fatherland; only the children of the poor migrate, and it is very unlikely that such a stream will be a good sample of the beauty, brains, and initiative of the stock.

Even the difficulties of a distant migration have a selective value. The first-comers from a people probably have more initiative than those

who come later, after the channels of immigration are worn deep and straight and smooth. The poorest stuff migrates in response to a ticket-



selling campaign by steamship agents who go about and stir up gulls with fairy tales. Woe to the land which serves as dumping ground for a commercialized immigration!



Bringing his own inherited low standard of living, the foreign-born outbreeds his native competitor, whose standard of living reflects

the plenty of the newer country. The former will be ready to marry before the latter feels justified in doing so. The former will beget eight children while the latter does not see how he can do right by more than four.³ The higher standards of cleanliness, decency, and education cherished by the native element act on it like a slow poison. William does not leave so many children as 'Tonio because he will not huddle his family into one room, eat macaroni off a bare board, work his wife barefoot in the field, and keep his children weeding onions instead of at school. Subjection to competition with low-standard immigrants appears to be the root cause of the mysterious "sterility" which has stricken in turn the Americans and each of the Americanized immigrant elements. Down to 1830 the Americans were as fertile a race as ever lived and their decline in fertility coincides in time and locality with the arrival of the immigrant flood.⁴

A democratic society, in which government, laws, and moral standards are the outcome of common understanding, suffers as it becomes a hodge-podge. The unworthy are able to slip into power because groups of worthy citizens are pulling different ways. When a people is so like-minded politically that fundamentals are taken for granted, it is ready to tackle new questions as they come up. But if it admits to citizenship myriads of strangers who insist on threshing over again old straw—the relation of church to state, of church to school, of state to parent, of law to the liquor trade—ripe sheaves ready to yield the wheat

³In 1890 in American cities a thousand foreign-born women could show 565 children under five years of age to 309 children shown by a thousand native women. By 1900 the contribution of the foreign women had risen to 612, while that of the native women had declined to 296.

⁴F. S. Crum in the Bulletin of the American Statistical Association for Sept., 1914, p. 216, offers the following significant table:

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WIFE
(Statistics Based upon Twenty-two Genealogical Records of
American Families)

Marriage Periods	Number of Wives	Number of Children	Average Number of Children per Wife
Previous to 1700	276	2,034	7.37
1700-1749	802	5,478	6.83
1750-1799	1,966	12,649	6.43
1800-1849	5,530	27,320	4.94
1850-1869	3,062	10,630	3.47
1870-1879	1,086	3,004	2.77
Totals	12,722	61,115	4.80

of wisdom under the flails of discussion lie untouched. Pressing questions—public hygiene, conservation, the control of monopoly, the protection of labor—go to the foot of the docket and public interests are not looked after.

MARITAL CONDITION

Contrary to the prevalent impression, the Americans are one of the most married peoples on the face of the earth. A greater proportion of them are, or have been, married than of British, French, Belgians, Scandinavians, Germans, Austrians, Swiss, Italians, Greeks, or Japanese. Their only superiors in Europe are the Magyars and the Slavs. This high marriedness reflects, no doubt, rural life, relative ease of getting a living, and a social position of woman which prompts her to scorn relations outside wedlock. Moreover, servants are much hampered in marrying and in the United States servants are few.

The usual American proportion of illegitimate births is from 3 to 4 per cent. When the rate exceeds this, it is usually owing to the negroes, many of whom have the most primitive ideas as to sex obligation. When one considers that in the European peoples the proportion born out of wedlock runs from 5 to 15 per cent., while in the South American countries the proportion of illegitimate births ranges from 20 per cent. to more than 50 per cent., the fact that, out of a hundred American white children, 96 or 97 have been born in marriage shows a fair degree of success in social control of the sex relation.

Not only are Americans much married but their fondness for wedlock seems to be increasing. From 1890 (when first the needful data were gathered) to 1910 the proportion of men 20 to 24 years of age who had married increased a fourth. The proportion of women in this age-class who had taken a husband advanced from 47 per cent. to 50 per cent. Out of a hundred American women in 1890, 32 were single; in 1900, 31; in 1910, 30.

Nor is this tendency due to the influx of early-marrying East Europeans. Take the girls of American parentage. In 1890 just about half of them were married; in 1910 nearly 52 per cent. of them had stood before the altar. After all we hear about "bachelor maids," the higher cost of wife-support, and the postponement of marriage, it appears that marriages are earlier than formerly and that all that has happened is that one or two women who twenty years ago would have become wives now never marry at all.

The fact that one man in ten and four women in ten marry before

the age of 21 and that two-thirds of the women marry under 25 while only two-fifths of the men marry under 25, reflects the very unequal economic pressure of marriage. Since it is the husband who undertakes the legal obligation of support, matrimony generally occurs two or three years later for men than for women. Greater difficulty in getting a start in life results in a later average age of marriage for men, but needs not affect the age of brides.

NORMALITY

The ability differences within a population are of immense social importance. The *super-normal* provide society with leaders, misleaders, inspirers, path-finders, and directors. Under fair competition the "star" persons will be of this type. On the other hand, the *sub-normal* largely contribute to crime, pauperism, vagrancy, and prostitution. Probably a *third* of the prostitutes in America, from a *quarter* to a *third* of the paupers, and *half* of the chronic inebriates are victims of a bad heredity. The proportion of criminals who are mental defectives is no doubt many times larger than that of the population at large.

The number of feeble-minded in the United States is not reckoned at less than 375,000, while a much greater host carry the taint in their germ plasm and, if they mate with their own type, may transmit it to their descendants. The insane and demented are estimated to number at least 350,000. Epileptics are figured by some at 150,000. Counting in all the well-marked types of congenital defect perhaps *one person in a hundred* is so poor in endowment as to present a problem.

The measurement of mental differences is yet in its infancy. Its technique is, however, rapidly developing and before long we may be able to ascertain with a fair degree of accuracy the natural mental capacity of any individual. When that time comes it may be possible to gauge the comparative brain power of races and of hybrids, to discriminate at immigration stations between the desirables and the undesirables, to discover what youths are worthy of being aided to a higher education, to find for each profession the grade of capacity requisite for success in it, or to sort out of a body of employees the ones available for responsibility and direction. Society will then be able to locate its stock of superior ability, to discover whether much of it is running to waste, to see whether it is reproducing itself, to find when and why a community becomes impoverished in respect to ability, and to trace the routes and causes of the migrations of the capable.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show how the settlement of the country has dissociated somewhat the sexes.
2. Which sort of cities attract men more? Which attract women more?
3. Explain: "Cupid abhors 'he' towns and 'she' towns."
4. What are the social characteristics of the male community?
5. What are the social effects of the coming of women into such a community?
6. Show how age distribution affects the tone of the community.
7. Compare the different streams of immigrants in point of value.
8. Explain: "The heirs of success abide in their fatherland."
9. Why does the low-standard immigrant supplant the native stock?
10. Show that a mixed immigration disintegrates the social mind.
11. Why do men generally marry later than women?

EXERCISES

1. What traits would prevail in a city in which women preponderated as much as men preponderate in Portland and Seattle?
2. Does prohibition of the liquor traffic call for the inventing of a new type of male resort as a "substitute for the saloon"?
3. How does "baby saving" affect the proportion of population which will reach old age?
4. Which is more favorable to the genesis of an adaptable progressive community in a frontier county—settlement from one eastern state or settlement from various states? Reasons.
5. How do you account for the increasing matrimoniality among us?
6. What good uses might society make of known coefficients of personal capacity in case mental measurement is perfected as its sponsors hope?

CHAPTER II

CITY AND COUNTRY

AT the birth of the American nation, its largest city had but 42,000 inhabitants, while only one person in thirty lived in the six towns of more than 8,000 population each. Now there are 924 such places in which dwell 43.8 per cent. of all Americans. One-half of us live in places of over 2,500 inhabitants, a tenth in villages, and scarcely two-fifths in the open country. It will not be long ere the national soul is urban.

Up to thirty years ago there was an agricultural frontier which acted as a brake on urbanization. The overflow from the long-settled

POPULATION IN PLACES OF 8,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE AT EACH CENSUS: 1790-1920



regions split into two streams, one flowing to the rising cities, while the other spread out upon free land. The chance to make farm homes in the public domain saved hundreds of thousands every decade from the reaching tentacles of our great cities. Now that settlement is completed the ambitious farm youth without large capital has only the option of becoming a tenant farmer or going to the city.

The indraught to the cities is not peculiar to our country. "London is probably two thousand years old, and yet four-fifths of its growth

was added during the past century. From 1850 to 1890 Berlin grew more rapidly than New York. Paris is now five times as large as it was in 1800. Rome has increased 50 per cent. since 1890. St. Petersburg has increased fivefold in a hundred years. Odessa is a thousand years old, but nineteen-twentieths of its population were added during the nineteenth century. Bombay grew from 150,000 to 821,000 from 1800 to 1890. Tokio increased nearly 800,000 during the last twenty years of the century; while Osaka was nearly four times as large in 1903 as in 1872, and Cairo has more than doubled since 1850. Thus in Europe, Asia and Africa we find that a redistribution of population is taking place. The movement from country to city is a world phenomenon."¹

Although philosophers scourge the city, and poets idealize the country, the cityward flow goes on because its causes are fundamental.

CAUSES OF URBAN GROWTH

1. The application of mechanical power to transportation has so cheapened carriage that interchanges of goods have waxed like Jonah's gourd. Ever greater is the proportion of our consumables brought to us from beyond the hundred-mile zone, from beyond the thousand-mile zone, from overseas, from the ends of the earth. Gulf streams of traffic pour between regions, countries, and climates. Wherever there is a break in transportation, i.e., wherever cargoes shift between wagon and rail, land and water, canal and river, river and sea, and wherever traffic brooks gather into a river or a traffic river is split among canals, there a city springs up. These swelling streams of commerce permit most of us to make a living from handling, storing, exchanging, and forwarding a mass of goods which grows faster than the population, faster than the total product, and which must make an ever-longer journey in order to reach the consumer.

2. Two generations ago the typical farm family produced for itself a large part of the manufactured goods it consumed. The women of the house, busy with hand card, spinning wheel and loom, worked up into clothing the fleeces of the farm flock of sheep. "Rag" carpets covered the floor and home-made quilts and comforters the beds. The hide of the beef killed for family consumption as well as those of two or three calves were taken to the tannery and after six months brought home and worked up into foot gear, sometimes by the men of the family but more often by a traveling shoemaker. In the smoke house were curing hams and bacon, while from the ashes in the leech was

¹ Josiah Strong, *The Challenge of the City*, p. 18.

drained the lye which, boiled with refuse fat, furnished soft soap for the family. Candles were molded from the tallow of the slaughtered beef. The orchard supplied fruit, cider, and vinegar. "Sweetening" came from the "sugar bush" or the patch of sorghum cane. Farm machinery did not exist, and the wooden parts of the farm implements were made on the place, the iron parts being furnished by a crossroads blacksmith.

Since this period we have seen a development of machine industry which has concentrated in towns at least five-sixths of the making industries which formerly supplied the wants of the farm family. Nor can we foresee that any rural handiwork except the manufacture of food products for consumption by the family is likely to escape the reach of the power-driven machine. In some regions, perhaps, specialization has gone too far. Thanks to girls' canning clubs, sewing clubs, and the like, the people of the grain-growing regions in particular will become less dependent on the city for their food and clothing. Nevertheless, there will be left outside the towns few who do not give their entire effort and attention to some purely extractive industry like agriculture, mining or lumbering.

3. The introduction of power-driven machinery on the farm diminishes the number of hands required in agriculture and releases a part of the rural population for some other pursuit.

4. The very abundance of modern production gives the city more to do. The poor lay out most of their income on country product. As they prosper, more of their every gain in purchasing power goes to support town industry rather than rural industry. This is because, the better the ware, the more of its value lies in the *workmanship* and the less in the *material*. More of the price of the fine shoe goes for elaboration than of the price of the brogan. So is it if you compare pastry with bread, the business suit with blue jeans, porcelain with crockery. The coarser goods stand for *extraction*, the finer goods for *elaboration*. Hence, as people live better, their consumption calls more for elaborative industry and less for extractive industry, i.e., for the labor of *city* rather than of *country*.

5. Thanks to the host of new duties assumed by government, the public service grows rapidly and the proceeds of taxation contribute more and more to maintain city dwellers. Few, indeed, are the public servants who live in the open country.

6. Generally people must reside where they get their living. Nevertheless, social, esthetic, and educational advantages count for some-

thing. Both city and country are becoming better places to live in, but which improves faster? In our time the city has gained electric street railways, electric lights, asphalt pavements, rubber tires, purer water, parks, playgrounds, public baths, social centers, housing regulation, palatial free high schools, and municipal universities. The open country has gained better roads, the oiled highway in places, the automobile, rural mail delivery, the telephone, in some homes acetylene gas and running water, and in a few places the consolidated school and the community house. On the whole, town life outstrips country life, and the town's lead in attractiveness constantly broadens.

MAKE-UP OF THE CITY POPULATION

The make-up of the urban element is by no means the same as that of the rural element. With us agriculture is so male that country spinsters and widows undertaking self-support remove to the city. In rural America there are 111 men to 100 women, while in urban America there are only 100 men to 100 women. The like holds true of western Europe, but in Russia, where women do field work, they are less apt to wander to the city than the men. In the Orient, where woman is not a free agent, no woman migrates to the city save as member of a family.

It is the *producer* rather than the *consumer* who betters himself by removing to the city. A man with several dependents is shy of going where living is dear. The city therefore drains from the country the young adults, leaving an excess of children and aged. Forty-four per cent. of our city-dwellers are in the age group 20 to 44 years, but only a third of our country-dwellers. No wonder the growing city throbs with energy and hope while the traits characteristic of the depleted countryside are deliberateness, reserve, and conservatism.

Oversea migration drops people down in cities, and most of them abide there, prisoners of ignorance and inertia. In a settled country receiving immigrants the cities become more polyglot and foreign than the rural districts. After our agricultural frontier came to an end, foreign immigration saturated American cities with foreign-born and contributed more to urban growth than the tide from the farms. Hence the open country is the stronghold of old Americanism, while the great city is a Babel. About *two-thirds* of our farm residents are of native stock, while, as one runs the gamut from farms to towns, from towns to cities, and from small cities to big, this element shrinks until in the great cities it is a bare *quarter*. Conversely, the foreign stock, which is

represented on the farms by a *fifth*, makes up *seven-tenths* of the metropolitan myriads. This is why, in respect to early marriage, divorce, family size, male ascendancy, patriarchal authority, and child labor, certain of our Northern cities resemble rural Eastern Europe.

Who is more forlorn than the lone man or the lone woman on a farm? Since boarding houses are unsuited to the country, agriculture *commands* people to marry. Everywhere in the country districts married life begins earlier for both sexes, lasts longer before being broken by divorce or death, and, if thus broken, is more likely to be succeeded by a new union, than in the large cities. Family life prevails, therefore, in country rather than in city, and this is so because on the farm the family is a more natural and indispensable unit for life and work.

In view of the niggardly satisfaction the city affords the mating instinct, no wonder a market for female virtue springs up in the city. Comments an expert on the U. S. census figures for 1900, "The foregoing figures showing the much smaller proportion of married persons in large cities, especially in the earlier years of adult life, would support the belief that where married life is so much less prevalent, the unlawful indulgence of sexual desires is probably more prevalent." Since urban economic conditions call into being prostitution, this abominable plague does not die out of itself. It can be extirpated only by social effort.

The city element reproduces itself less than the farm element not only because it is less domestic, but also because its children are more of a burden and less of an asset. Once factory child labor is curbed, the rearing of a large family costs the farmer much less than the city dweller. In our South the proportion of children to women is about half as great in city as in country.

FOLK DEPLETION

Is it *milk* or *cream* that the cities with their constant suction take from the rural population?

Perhaps the chief trait of those who follow the call of the distant city when farming stagnates is the *spirit of initiative*. They have it in them to *make a start*, in spite of home ties, the bonds of habit, and the restraints of prudence. Had they never emigrated, they would have been among the first in the community to change their way of farming, to introduce a new crop, to start a new industry, or to push some community enterprise. A heavy outflow of this element need not leave

the community poorer in physique, or brains, or character, except as these go with initiative, but it *does* leave it poorer in natural leaders.

This is serious because natural leaders are key persons. Not only is it they who start good things, but they keep up to the mark the various institutions which minister to the higher life of the community. The bulk of the people cannot start or direct those institutions, although they may value and support them once they exist. Often one sees a sad slump in the religious, social, and recreative life of a neighborhood, following the moving away of two or three families of initiative. Usually those who insist upon and know how to get good schools, strong churches, and abundant means for social enjoyment, are a *minority*, often a *very small minority*. The loss of even the best tenth may cut down by one-half the effective support the community gives to higher interests.

The continual departure of young people who would in time have become leaders results at last in a visible moral decline of the community. The roads are neglected, which means fewer social contacts and a smaller turnout to school and church and public events. School buildings and grounds deteriorate, and the false idea takes root that it pays to hire the cheaper teacher. The church gets into a rut, fails to start up the social and recreative activities which bind the young people to it, and presently ceases to be a force, perhaps even goes to pieces. The young give themselves to frivolity because no one organizes singing schools, literary societies, or debating clubs. Presently a generation has grown up that has missed the uplifting and refining influence of these neighborhood institutions. There is a slump in standards of individual and family morality. Many couples become too selfish to rear children. People are not up to the level of their forefathers, they are coarser in their tastes and care less for higher things. Vice and sensuality are not so restrained as of yore. The false opinion goes abroad that the members of the community are "degenerate" and therefore past redemption.

No doubt rural decline from this cause has occurred sporadically for thousands of years, but it assumes acute forms in the United States because the double pull of city and frontier, propagated by schools and newspapers, has worked on our old rural population like a cream separator. In New England there are rural counties which have been losing their best for three or four generations, leaving the coarse, dull, and hidebound. The number of loafers in some slackwater villages of the

Middle States indicates that the natural pacemakers of the locality have gone elsewhere to create prosperity. In parts of southern Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and even as far west as Missouri, there are communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bull-heads and suckers.

Of late the situation has improved. The "country-life" movement has opened the eyes of many bright country youths to farm opportunities. More and more of the graduates of agricultural colleges engage in farming. As farm homes improve and farmers have money to spend, the country gains in prestige and hence in hold on its young people. High-priced farm lands necessitating the use of improved machinery, thorough-bred live stock, scientific methods and good business judgment challenge the more capable young men, so that in the more prosperous agricultural regions it is the *restless* rather than the *ambitious* who wander to the city.

The hope of further checking the flow of country brains to the city lies in multiplying social and recreative opportunities for heart-starved young people on the farms, in redirecting rural education and re-inspiring the rural church, in dispelling the false glamour which envelops the distant city, and in showing the bright country youth ways of gearing his brains and knowledge on to farming.

CITY SOUL AND RURAL SOUL

The world over, the *tempo* of the city mind is quicker than that of the country mind. The urban type lives on surfaces, life being so crowded with impressions that there is little energy left for reflection. Compare the sights and sounds which hail one in the street with those one meets in the country lane. Compare the big head-lines, color print, dramatic posters and winking lights which must be used in order to reach the city mind with the meek sale notice posted at the crossroad. The former shows the competition to win attention. The things the urbanite noticingly looks at or listens to in a day are generally many times more numerous than those that engage the farmer's mind. As a result, one country-dweller sinks into stagnation, the machinery of his rusty mind moving slowly and only in response to a strong stimulus. The mind of another grinds on itself, mulling over his narrow personal experience, his little stock of inherited dogmas, his scanty fund of scrappy uncoördinated information gleaned from his weekly newspaper. Another mind wrestles futilely with passages from the prophet Daniel or the Book of Revelations because he is without the equipment for

interpreting them. Finally there is the farmer of trained mind who, furnished by his schooling with orderly knowledge and supplied with trustworthy current data, by his own thinking works out sound principles.

The city atmosphere quickens the creaking rustic mind, making for alertness and promptness of response; also for snap-shot judgments and shallow thinking. You may long ply a rural population with facts and ideas which call for action on their part and get no response. But the impressions accumulate and presently you have built up in them a fixed purpose which inspires the action you desire. Urban people, on the other hand, are sooner hot and sooner cool. Impressions are easily made, but they are not accumulated, for the city type loathes repetition.

Now factors are at work which seem likely to wipe out much of this immemorial difference between city mind and country mind. Rusticity has well-nigh vanished from our Western states, while another generation will see its practical extinction in the corn belt and in most of the dairy belt. The farmer is becoming an *entrepreneur*, with an attention to the market which makes him cousin to the business man. Telephone and automobile link him closely with other farmers and with town. But even if the psychology of the isolate vanishes from the open country, it will remain the home of *the rural mind*, marked by love of the open, intimacy with Nature, sympathy with growth processes, self-directed labor, and skill in dealing with things rather than in dealing with people.

Certain economic contrasts between rural and urban seem likely to persist. The city does not favor the fundamental economic virtues such as foresight and frugality. The farmer is esteemed according to his *production capital*, his red barns, tight fences, weedless fields, sleek horses, and fat stock. The city man, however, is appraised according to his *consumption capital*; not his mill nor his business block nor his law library, but his residence and scale of entertainment determine his social marking. In the country, then, the current standards of success incite to thrift; in the city they incite to spending.

Again, the greatest stimulus to thrift is felt when one's present savings will plainly lighten future labor. The farmer pinches now so that next year a windmill may relieve his aching arms, or the horse fork take the strain off his shoulders. Moreover, his saving is invested under his eyes, just where it will do the most good, and no paltry 6 per cent. is his reward. The tiles he lays through his slough may pay for themselves in three years; so, likewise, the new barn, the improved

dairy herd, or the self-binder. On the other hand, the typical city-dweller rents his savings to some one else and takes the reward of his abstinence not in a vivid personal experience, but in an annual 4 per cent. from the savings bank or in 6 per cent. from some remote company whose directors he does not know and whose business he has never seen and would not understand.

The rural neighborhood rarely offers more than one or two levels of opinion upon the conduct of its members. Usually it applies a single standard, sound enough but mediocre. Individuals with a strong bent either upward or downward chafe under unstimulating self-complacent neighborhood opinion and migrate in quest of countenancers, models, and appreciators. The city, on the other hand, offers circles which differ immensely in their standards of right and of excellence; therefore, one's possibilities whether for good or for evil more fully develop. Angel or devil, hero or sneak, doer or loafer, miser or spendthrift, sage or fool—each more fully attains the limit of his nature than he is likely to do in the rural community.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What are the causes of urban growth?
2. How does city compare with country in respect to age distribution and sex composition?
3. Why are there more men in the country? More old? More natives? More conservatives?
4. Compare city with country in respect to family life.
5. How do those quitting the farm compare with those who stay?
6. Account for rural "degeneration" in some spots.
7. Why is the country now holding more of the bright youths?
8. Compare the soul of the city-bred with that of the country-bred.
9. Show that the city develops moral extremes while the country favors the golden mean.

EXERCISES

7. Outline a program, local, state, and national, for keeping a reasonable proportion of the bright country young people on the farm.
8. What might be done to make the country church a bigger factor for good in the life of the rural community?
9. Should farmers have their distinctive organizations—social, recreational, religious, economic, and political—or should they unite with the residents of the town in which they do their trading?
10. Compare country people with city people in their acceptance of leadership. Account for the difference.
11. Compare farming with machine industry in respect to opening the mind to communistic ideas. Reasons,

1787 Constitution of U.S. made.

He maintained that the Population
had tendency to increase and
multiples rates 4.8, 12 16

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

ASIDE from immigration, the increase of population depends on the margin by which births exceed deaths. Formerly these were phenomena with which the human will had little to do; but in the course of forty years certain forces have come into play among the advanced peoples which have greatly affected both birth rate and death rate, so that the "population question" grows more urgent every year.

THE SENSATIONAL LOWERING OF THE DEATH RATE

Owing to the great advances in medical science and the arts of healing and surgery, the better education of physicians, improved public sanitation, the greater enlightenment of people in hygienic matters, the rising plane of comfort and the smaller proportion of infants in the population, the advanced peoples cut down their mortality from a quarter to as much as two-fifths in the third of a century before the war.

The success in saving babies is astonishing. The first census taken by the Japanese in Formosa indicated that the Chinese there lose one-half their children before they are six months old. A decade ago a quarter of the babies born in Hungary and Russia failed to live a year. On the other hand, in the best Scandinavian or American communities not more than one infant in twenty fails to survive the first year, and in New Zealand, where the baby-saving campaign has been pushed farther than anywhere else, there are cities which lose but one infant in twenty-seven!

Baby-saving, besides preserving many sound constitutions, enables some weaklings to reach maturity, so that the success in conserving younger lives adds to the difficulty of conserving older lives. Moreover, there is no doubt that some are enabled to survive and reproduce themselves who transmit to their children a poorer physical inheritance than was found among those who grew up in an early day.

Compare, for example, America and China in respect to natural selection. Out of ten children born in America, at least seven reach maturity. Out of the same number born in China, only two grow up.

The Chinese lose the three weakest just as we do, but in addition they lose five more who can survive under American conditions but not under Chinese conditions. If at birth the white infants and the yellow infants are equal in stamina, the two Chinese who grow up ought to possess greater strength of constitution than the seven whites who grow up. As parents, the latter cannot be expected to transmit as valuable a physical heredity as the former, so that, in respect to toughness of physique, the people with the less searching and relentless elimination of the weaker infants is at a disadvantage. The moral is not to relax our efforts to prolong life, but to *apply eugenics to reproduction*.

HOW FAST CAN POPULATION GROW?

The greatest fecundity of which we have statistical measurement is to be found in Russia, British India, and French Canada. Whole populations here show an average of 50 births per thousand annually, while there are communities in which the birth rate is 55 or even 60! Now, the lowest mortality possible in a population containing so large a proportion of young lives is 25 or 30 per thousand. So that the maximum rate of increase of man under the most favorable conditions is about 3 per cent. yearly. This means that the population doubles in about 25 years, or expands in a century to *sixteen times* its original volume.

MALTHUS'S DISCOVERY

A century ago Malthus startled the world by demonstrating that, following its natural bent, the human race multiplies faster than it can increase its food supply, the result being that population tends ever to press painfully upon the means of subsistence. So long as mankind reproduces itself freely, numbers can be adjusted to subsistence only by such harsh agencies as war, famine, vice, and disease. To be sure, this ghastly train of ills may be escaped if only people will prudently postpone marriage. Since, however, late marriage calls for the exercise of more foresight and self-control than can be looked for in the masses, Malthus painted the future with a somberness which gave political economy its early nickname of "the dismal science."

ORIGIN OF MAN'S EXCESS OF FECUNDITY

His early critics could not conceive that a benevolent Creator would send man into the world with a fatal propensity to overmultiply. Darwin, however, after reading Malthus, conceived the idea that every

species brings forth more young than ordinarily can be brought to maturity. But why should every living form tend to multiply to excess?

A species inherits the impulse and capacity for greater reproduction than it needs under ordinary circumstances because it had to have enough to get past the worst conditions it has ever encountered. No doubt countless species or varieties have become extinct because they did not reproduce fast enough to survive certain crises. All the forms we see about us to-day are those which had in their reproductive constitutions a sufficient "factor of safety."

The specific fecundity of mankind became established hundreds of centuries ago and insured it the power of expanding even under the hard conditions of primitive life. In the most advanced stage of civilization this capacity is about *four times* what man needs in order to maintain his numbers and *three times* that which will cause population to grow about as fast as the food supply can be augmented. We are making such progress in saving life that some of us will live to a time when a *fifth* or even a *sixth* of human reproductive power will suffice to keep up population. Hence, for man to shut his eyes and propagate without taking thought for the morrow is to act as if he were living in olden times when a twentieth of the population died in a year instead of to-day when not over an eightieth dies in a year. For him to let himself go in respect to the instincts centering about reproduction is almost as disastrous in its effects as for him to give free rein to his pugnacious instinct, his destructive instinct, or his acquisitive instinct.

MALTHUS AT PAR AGAIN

Through the mid-part of the nineteenth century the lesson Malthus sought to drive home was obscured by the fact that, although the population was multiplying freely, life was getting easier. In the course of the century Europeans much more than doubled in number and yet were better fed than at the beginning. The explanation, however, is not that Malthus was all wrong, but that the art of agriculture was making giant strides and that, out on the expanding frontiers of the white race, great virgin tracts were brought under cultivation while steam transportation enabled their produce to be hurried to the bare larders of the Old World. Since no one perceives where the twentieth century is to find its Mississippi Valley, Argentina, Canada, or Australia to fill with herds or farms, it is necessary for the whites to cut down their rate of increase or else go back to their old hard lot.

THE FALL IN THE BIRTH RATE

While, owing to the great lowering of the death rate, most of the advanced peoples are increasing faster perhaps than ever before, the behavior of their birth rate is profoundly significant. A marked sag in fecundity made its appearance in France about sixty years ago. In 1878, when the famous Bradlaugh-Besant lawsuit gave wide publicity to the idea of birth control, births began to decline in England and in the next thirty-five years they fell off a third. In the next decade the child crop began to be curtailed in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Australia, and New Zealand. Before the close of the century Finland, Italy, and Hungary swung into line, while in the first decade of the twentieth century the militarists of Germany and Austria became agitated over "our diminishing fecundity." In the United States, despite an immense influx of prolific immigrants, the proportion of children under 5 years to women of child-bearing age shrank 35 per cent. between 1860 and 1910. In comparison with 1800, the proportion of children seems to be about one-half.

The root causes of the spreading aversion to large families are certain tendencies characteristic of modern society.

CAUSES OF THE FALL IN THE BIRTH RATE

One of these is *democracy*. Caste barriers are down so that more and more a man's standing depends upon himself. The lists of life are open to all and the passion to "succeed" grows with the value of the prizes in view. Never before have so many common people strained to reach a higher rung in the social ladder. But children impede such ascent, so the ambitious dread the handicap of an early marriage and a large family. As for the unselfish, who aim only to assure their children a good start, they will not desire more children than they can equip well for the battle of life.

Owing to the break-up of custom, *our economic wants expand faster than ever before*. People will not limit themselves to the traditional standard of comfort of their class. Wants and tastes once confined to the social elect spread resistlessly downward and infect the masses. Advertising, window-dressing, conspicuous consumption, waves of fashion, and stories of the life of modish people carry the craving for luxuries hitherto looked upon as the prerogative of the well-to-do, down among the millions of limited means and these, in their eager haste to gratify these new wants, keep down their increase.

Malthus foresaw neither of these developments nor did he anticipate *how women would come forward*. The child generally costs the mother more than it costs the father. Nevertheless, so long as woman is reputed to be inferior, her pangs do not count. The great movement of the last seventy years which has burst the fetters on woman's mind, gives the wife more weight in the marriage partnership and causes the heavy cost of maternity to be more considered by her husband as well as by herself.

Probably these forces opposed to prolificacy would have left no very conspicuous mark on the birth rates of nations, had there not occurred at about the same time a diffusion of knowledge of the means of birth control. Percolating slowly down from stratum to stratum, this knowledge continually increases the proportion of limited families.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF FECUNDITY

Society has influence upon the desire for offspring. Whether a young couple shall avoid progeny, content themselves with a child or two, or undertake to rear a real family, depends much on the current opinion about children. If they are looked upon as blessings and if a normal-sized, well-reared family is a source of pride, few couples will remain child-shy. If social appreciation of children does not suffice, society can induce the foresighted and prudent to rear more children *by shifting the economic burden of child-rearing*. At present the child-producing family handicaps itself in comparison with the child-shy. If by free medical care of the child-bearing mother and her children, free schooling, free meals in school, and so on up to the point of state allowances for healthy children born to healthy couples, the economic burden of race continuance were largely transferred from the individual to the community, no doubt the child crop of the superior strains would increase. It goes without saying that such aid would most stimulate the reproduction of the more shiftless elements unless it were reserved for couples which came up to a certain standard of inheritance, capacity, and character. Such a standard will not be accepted in a democracy until mental measurement is far more advanced and used than it now is.

As soon as one element withholds its increase more than another element, it diminishes its share in the heredity of the generations to come. Now, since those who limit their family to a moderate size, are, on the whole, the prudent, self-controlled, and capable people, or those who have a high standard of what they owe their children, whereas

those who have families of ten to fifteen are, on the whole, the more thriftless and reckless, or those who have a low standard of what they owe their children, is not family limitation dysgenic? Does it not cause the race to be recruited from the less desirable strains? Formerly, owing to the poverty and ignorance of the parents of large families, fewer of their children survived than of the families half as large. But now that the child's prospect of surviving depends less on the intelligence and resources of its parents and more on the intelligence and resources of the community, the conscientious breeders have little advantage over the rash breeders.

17 Something may be done to correct this situation by social policies which restrain fathers from exploiting their young children. By means of compulsory school attendance laws and anti-child-labor laws responsible parents may impose upon greedy fathers the standards of child culture to which they already accommodate their own conduct. The conversion of children from assets into liabilities works a surprising change in the attitude of a certain type toward the large family.

It is possible, moreover, for public opinion to discourage immoderate fecundity. When each trudges the road by himself, it is solely his own affair how many bundles he loads himself with. But when we go by train, it is everybody's concern how many bundles a passenger brings aboard. The more one brings, the fewer others can bring and the greater the general discomfort. Hence, an opinion grows up as to what is a reasonable amount of luggage for a passenger to travel with.

In the same way, once it is realized that only by a certain self-control in propagation is it possible for a people to enjoy health, comfort, and length of life, an idea forms as to what is a reasonable family size, and disapproval is shown those who without warrant exceed this. No doubt the exceptionally endowed who offer society a "full quiver" of children will find favor; but the subcommon—who are the most reckless in multiplication—will be made to feel community resentment when they propagate as if the world could not have too much of their ilk. The man of poor stock who begets a family of ten or fifteen will be looked upon as a fool or an egoist.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION INEVITABLE

But what of forethoughted parentage by the advanced peoples while there are peoples and races which multiply blindly and threaten to flood their neighbors with their surplus population? Now that cheap travel stirs the social deeps and beckoning opportunity fills the steerages,

immigration becomes ever more serious to the people which hopes to rid itself utterly of slums, "submerged tenth," and "poverty" classes. Wherefore should it practise family prudence if hungry strangers may crowd in and occupy at the table the places it had reserved for its children? Shall it in order to relieve the teeming lands of their unemployed abide in the pit of wolfish competition?

There is no doubt that barriers to immigration will be reared which will give notice to the backward peoples that enlightened humanity is not willing to cramp itself in order that these peoples may continue to indulge in thoughtless reproduction. These barriers will not hamper the interchange of culture elements among the peoples or hinder the movement of such bearers of culture as students, scholars, missionaries, travelers, officials, and business men. But they will prevent the movement of great numbers from areas of high population pressure to areas in which a low population pressure is deliberately maintained. The imputation of such a barrier is not that the excluded people or race is inferior but that the excluding people does not propose to incommode itself and lose its own field of future internal expansion in order that the excluded may be relieved of the natural penalty of their heedless propagation.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Compare America with China in respect to natural selection.
2. How fast can population grow?
3. State Malthus's doctrine.
4. How did our species acquire the tendency to propagate faster than is necessary to keep up numbers?
5. Why was Malthus's teaching rejected in the latter part of the nineteenth century?
6. What are the causes of the fall in the birth rate?
7. How can society influence fecundity?
8. Why is national restriction of immigration inevitable?

EXERCISES

12. How does ancestor worship influence the attitude toward the large family?
13. Why is it that the truth Malthus discovered was not brought to light long before the end of the eighteenth century?
14. What influences are severing the old roots of mankind in the natal soil and causing local population surpluses to move freely about the globe in quest of opportunity?
15. From the American point of view is it a good thing or a bad thing that the Japanese in rural California tend to form solid communities?
16. Does the increasing frequency of famines in India during the last thirty years indicate overtaxation by the British? How do you account for it?

17. Should a dependent family receive additional aid when another child appears?
18. Which will the unrestrained play of natural forces bring to pass—that the lot of the handworker in India becomes like that of the handworker in Canada to-day or that the lot of the handworker in Canada becomes like that of the handworker in India to-day?

PART II
SOCIAL FORCES

Psychical forces. are within us
+ control our conduct.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORIGINAL ^{psychic} SOCIAL FORCES

THE immediate causes of social phenomena are to be sought in human minds. Man comes into the world with a rich endowment of dispositions or instincts which, in the words of MacDougall, "are the mental forces which maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies." Without them the human organism would lie inert "like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed or a steam engine whose fires had been drawn." Thorndike declares, "The behavior of man in the family, in business, in the state, in religion, and in every other affair of life, is rooted in his unlearned, original equipment of instincts and capacities." In Veblen's judgment the instincts are "the prime movers in human behavior." "These native proclivities alone make anything worth while and out of their workings emerge not only the purpose and efficiency of life but its substantial pleasures and pains as well."

Like his features or his brain structure, man's instincts have evolved slowly under the operation of natural selection through an immense period, and there is no reason to suppose that they have changed much in historic time. Each instinct made for the possessor's survival during its period of development, but since then the conditions of life have so changed that it may now be a snare to its possessor or a menace to his fellows. Hence, *the existence of an instinct is no reason for giving it free course.*

THE REPRESSION OF INSTINCTS

The yielding to native tendencies when and as they present themselves results so often in ruin and confusion that thinkers were quite justified in denouncing the "natural" man and urging the conduct of life according to rules or ideals. They erred, however, in supposing that, if you "mortify" or "bring under" a troublesome natural disposition, it will presently die. Indeed, it is not so simple a matter to prune and force human nature. Sometimes the balked disposition persists and we suffer an inner bleeding, a loss of nervous energy accompanied by a vague distress or unrest.

INNOCENT GRATIFICATION OF INSTINCTS

The solution of the dilemma lies in the fact that almost every native urge may find vent through any one of a number of channels and by closing certain channels and opening others a mischievous instinct may be drained harmlessly away or even made useful. Whether the acquisitive instinct shall lead to commercial crime or to stamp collecting, whether innate pugnacity shall find satisfaction in fighting or in antagonistic sports, whether the impulse to self-assertion shall seek fulfilment in boasting or in solid achievement, whether curiosity shall instigate to prying or to study, depend on *training, leadership, and dominant ideas*.

control
SUBLIMATION OF INSTINCTS

There is, furthermore, the fact that man is fanciful and his cravings may be stilled by imaginative or symbolic gratification. The sex urge, the teasing and tormenting proclivities, the destructive bent, the passion for domination, *wanderlust*, the hunting and fighting instincts, need not be pinched off *provided that they be sublimated*. It is the mission of literature and art to create means of satisfying our repressed desires *wholly within the mind*, thereby giving them a fuller or less costly scope than we dare to give them in real life.

SOCIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE FIGHTING INSTINCT

There is no end to the illustrations of pugnacity in the life of societies. On the basis of his observations in Central Borneo, MacDougall remarks:

The people are very intelligent and sociable and kindly to one another within each village community; but . . . the neighboring villages and tribes live in a state of chronic warfare; all are kept in constant fear of attack, whole villages are often exterminated, and the population is in this way kept down very far below the limit at which any pressure on the means of subsistence could arise. This perpetual warfare, like the squabbles of a roomful of quarrelsome children, seems to be almost wholly and directly due to the uncomplicated operation of the instinct of pugnacity. No material benefits are sought; a few heads and sometimes a slave or two are the only trophies gained; and if one asks of an intelligent chief why he keeps up this senseless practice of going on the war path, the best reason he can give is that unless he does so his neighbors will not respect him and his people, and will fall upon them and exterminate them.

The instinct of pugnacity, however, is *not* at the root of most modern wars. The World War sprang from the conflict of rival imperialisms. Behind these imperialisms was the greed of certain influential financial or business groups secretly molding the foreign policy of government. The instinct of pugnacity came into the situation only at the stage when it was necessary to win wide support for perilous national aggressions. Then came orators, song writers, and newspapers playing artfully upon the popular mind to evoke well-timed outbursts of Jingoism.

Politics has been a male affair and male pugnacity cropped out in American politics as soon as the Jacksonian movement brought to self-consciousness masses of unthinking instinctive voters. The citizens divided into two hostile camps, filled political discussion with fighting words like "campaign," "battle," "enemy," "chiefs," "slogan," and "banner," and imported military features such as uniforms, marching companies, and torchlight processions. The one dread of politicians was the cool judicial attitude, and their one hope was "spirit," i.e., a groundless hatred of opponents. The winning party celebrated a "victory," declared "To the victors belong the spoils," and with the general approval of the voters of both parties proceeded to convert the salaried offices to private or party advantage. Would that women voters might rid politics of these childish antics!

A skilful teacher controls unruly children by various means—argument, appeal, example, sarcasm, humor, etc. The rod will not be his chief reliance. Can any one doubt that society would be equally resourceful in dealing with offenders were it not that the easily aroused emotions of anger and vengeance have stood constantly at the elbow of Justice, suggesting pain and ever more pain in dealing with the recalcitrant? If the agents of justice used as much ingenuity as the skilful teacher, there would be more *management* in our dealings with trouble-givers and less *punishment*. Here again, where male instinct has botched the job, is an opportunity for the managing sex to try its hand.

THE GREGARIOUS INSTINCT IN SOCIETY

The gregarious instinct is one of the chief builders of modern society. The sensational growth of cities is not due solely to economic causes. The multitude attracts men as the candle attracts moths. Many who grew up in the country and never found it dull, become restless in it after they have learned to thrill with the crowd. Slum dwellers develop a morbid passion for huddling and no "garden city" apostle can

persuade them to exchange the slum with its high rents, congestion, ugliness, dirt, and disease for the roomy and wholesome suburb.

Formerly custom bound the country-born to the place and calling of his forefathers. But newspapers and cheap travel have extended to the remotest hamlet the pull of the herd. Even in thinly settled Australia and South America the country-born pile into the city as if the furrow had no need of them. Until near the close of the nineteenth century this drift was balanced by the flooding of settlers into virgin lands in the temperate zone. Now that we are at the bottom of *this* sack, the rising cost of living warns that too many have quit food production. To restore the balance it may be necessary to teach the children of the farm the risks and drawbacks of urban life and even to require cities to contribute to the expense of making country life more attractive.

SOCIAL SERVICES OF THE PARENTAL INSTINCT

It is probable that philanthropy, anti-vice crusades, the prevention of cruelty to animals, and the protection of children are largely manifestations of the parental instinct. It is significant that many of the prime movers are childless or have lost their children, so that, finding no object at home, their tenderness occupies itself with the helpless outside. The zeal of women for protecting child life springs, no doubt, from their maternal instinct.

SOCIAL RÔLE OF CURIOSITY

The original driving force behind science was the instinct of curiosity. It was also behind the religious speculations which, when they had crystallized into a regulative dogmatic system, obstructed further inquiry. The passion to *probe deeper* is so imperious in the stronger minds that every persecution of research and skeptical speculation has produced its martyrs. The foiling of this passion, whether by violence or by the prestige of the ancients, as in the Silver Age of Greece, in China and under Ecclesiasticism, leaves the intellectual *élite* restless and unhappy, whereas the encouragement it meets with in an age like ours, which realizes the money worth of scientific progress, inspires men of genius with self-confidence and optimism.

RELEASE OF THE INSTINCT OF SELF-EXPRESSION

The strength of the instinct of self-expression may be gauged from what happens when it is released after being long pent up. After the Revolution of March, 1917, the Russians interested in political ideas

went on a "spree." There was no end of public meetings and speeches. People went about from one meeting to another all Sunday and never tired of listening to utterances which formerly would have cost the utterer a jail sentence. There was a veritable passion for "demonstrating." Every political group delighted to parade the street carrying banners or transparencies blazoning its sentiments. Besides the motive of spreading one's ideas there was sheer pleasure in self-expression, like the whooping of children let out of school.

BOOTLESS SOCIAL REPRESSION OF CERTAIN INSTINCTS

If customs and institutions grew right out of the impulses and experiences of the people, they would offer little check to harmless human tendencies. But various crude products of thinking, half-baked theologies and philosophies, have had part in their shaping, so that we have no assurance that the social order will suit ordinary human nature. Individuals with the skewest notions as to the chief ends of man—religious devotees, aged jurists, property owners, fox-hunting gentry—may shut up a people for generations in a frustrating régime. The Chinese have idealized toil to the point of ignoring the demand for play. Until they came into contact with the West, sport made no appeal to them and their ideal of a delectable life was bodily ease and passive enjoyment. This was why they took to opium smoking but not to strong drink.

Communal ownership denied the Russian peasant proper scope for his instinct to acquire and possess. Rural Russia knows little of that "magic of property which turns sand into gold." For this reason, perhaps, the peasants rarely developed that unremitting industry, thrift and hopefulness which are common when each farmer has, or can look forward to, a farm of his own.

The moroseness and alcoholism of the Indians of the Andean uplands from Ecuador to Bolivia probably result from the bafflement of the instincts of self-assertion and liberty. Even to-day Cuzco Indians, women as well as men, doff hat to every white man they pass. In the remoter districts the Indian who sees a white man coming along the trail will make a long detour to avoid him. The old brutalities are gone but fear continues to check self-assertion, so that this broken-hearted race misses the happiness it had before the Spaniards set heel on its neck.

Through most of the Orient and particularly under Islam, women are so pent and blocked in the gratification of normal human instincts

that their faces are stamped with sadness and resignation. On the other hand, nowhere do women's countenances bear fewer signs of "balked disposition" than in the United States. Thirty years ago when I began to address groups of American women, faces marked with bafflement were far more common than they are now. College girls to-day laugh and chatter more than did those of the eighties. Japanese and Chinese girls educated in American schools show in the countenance a light and a nobility of expression strange to the Oriental women. Under the conditions of security, freedom, and men's appreciation women here are seizing life with both hands.

HOW MODERN SOCIETY OFFENDS AGAINST HUMAN NATURE

A generation ago the schoolmaster dealt repressively with the child, dismissing its propensities to play, rove, hunt, collect, or fight as the "Old Adam." He felt no obligation to make learning interesting and complacently forced the child by fear of the rod to "get" his lessons. Such repression worked no great harm when those who abominated school generally could escape it. Now, however, that society insists on keeping the child in school for eight or ten years, it behooves educators to make education palatable by tying it to his native interests. Less task work and more play, less memorizing and more doing, less study of books and more of things, is the order of the day. By the best teachers, the *rhythmic, dramatic, expressive, animistic, constructive, and emulative* instincts are recognized and appealed to.

In dealing with offenders the infliction of physical pain has been given up as well as shaming by means of stocks, pillory, ear-cropping, branding, and whipping at the cart's tail. We only confine offenders and, since they are warmed and fed and not overworked, we imagine our prison system humane. The fact is, shutting a man up in a tiny cell in a great steel cage may torture the mind as the thumb-screw tortures the body. It so denies the instinct for liberty that alienists have had to recognize a new disease, "confinement insanity." How posterity will condemn our ignorant cruelty in breaking men who in a convict logging or road-building camp would have kept sane!

Gravest of all is the trend of industry in obedience to the profit motive. One industry will have men workers while another located elsewhere will hire only women, the result being dissociation of the sexes. In a certain collar-and-cuff manufacturing center only 46 per cent. of the population are males while in a neighboring electrical manufacturing center 54 per cent. are males. Here a few miles apart

are two groups of involuntary celibates whose sex instincts are needlessly thwarted. Consider, too, the massing of unmarried immigrant men into tenement rooms and the condemning of some millions of migratory workers to a wifeless existence.

Less and less is the instinct of workmanship stimulated as the minute subdivision of tasks makes labor a monotonous repetition. Handicraft gives way to machine-tending, which is so little absorbing that, it is said, mental deficient make the best machine tenders! Small zest can workers feel who do not understand the relation of their own product to the finished article. Finally comes scientific management which takes all planning away from the ordinary worker, leaving him a meaningless mechanical job at which no craftsmanship can be exercised and from which, therefore, no joy can be derived.

Exclusive capitalist control of industry thwarts the workers' impulse to self-assertion, stirred as it is by the democratic ideas of our time. This autocratic determination of conditions which vitally affect the lives of the workers, as well as the experience of being spied upon and dismissed for any endeavor to organize, makes for an unrest which no concessions as to wages and hours can allay. Behind the movement for a more democratic control of industry lies something more than agitation, viz., suppressed demands of human nature.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What are instincts and how did we come by them?
2. What may be the result of "mortifying the flesh"?
3. Show that it is not always necessary to repress trouble-making instincts.
4. What is sublimation of the instincts?
5. Why are women less pugnacious than men?
6. Define gregariousness. Show some of its results in society.
7. Account for the difficulty of securing domestics.
8. What social effects flow from the parental instinct?
9. Why has the social system often needlessly thwarted many of the instincts?
10. How does our society sin against normal human nature?

EXERCISES

19. Do you think that the demands of our gregarious instinct become less insistent as we grow older? *yes*
20. Why will a middle-aged man go on under the burden of conducting his business after he has already more money than he can use? *because he is used to it*
21. Do you think the twenty-third century will look back upon our period as having been a good time to live in? Reasons.
22. Is it in the nature of religion to offer obstruction to the gratification of the instincts? *yes*

23. Do your religious fellow-students appear to enjoy life more or less than your non-religious fellow-students? *yes -*
24. Why should a community restrain its impulse to lynch the self-confessed perpetrator of a brutal murder?
25. Is it right, in a (church or Y. M. C. A.) building campaign, to stimulate by publicity and comparison the emulative spirit between donors, solicitors, and groups of solicitors? Isn't this letting the right hand "know what the left hand doeth"?

Social forces very close to instinct.

Original social forces.

Appetite

Reproduction

Altruistic - serving others

egoistic desires - thinking of self -

Dominate social forces

Age

Derivative forces - interests

CHAPTER V

THE DERIVATIVE SOCIAL FORCES

CERTAIN great complexes—such as Wealth, Government, Religion, and Knowledge—go to satisfy a number of our innate cravings. Each of them appeals to so many sides of human nature that for most men it becomes an object of abiding concern and desire. These derived social forces may be called *interests*. They so mightily determine the attitudes and exertions of men that the *interests* of a people or an age give it its stamp. The forces which alter from time to time the comparative strength of interests are among the veritable makers of history.

THE ROOTS OF THE ECONOMIC INTEREST

The *wealth* (or *economic*) *interest* has its tap root in the pangs of hunger and cold, which cause man to crave material goods. In time, however, all sorts of cravings, native and acquired, put in requisitions for such goods and thus whet greed to a keener edge. When personal emulation takes the form of "conspicuous waste," the instinct of rivalry prompts to acquisition. When in maidens' eyes gold "gilds the straitened forehead of the fool," gold will be prized as a means of winning the wanted girl. When entertainment is expensive, money is sought in order to gratify one's need of fellowship. When it is believed that the gods covet rich presents, men will seek the wherewithal for costly sacrifices and sanctuaries. When wealth gives lordship over others, the ambitious will rowel hard in the pursuit of fortune. When the artist works for the highest bidder, the lover of beauty will turn his hand to money-making. When Dives is more honored, stands better with God, is a more formidable suitor and finds bigger meshes in the law than the better man with the lighter purse, many streams of desire pour into the wealth-wanting channel and avarice will swell to monstrous proportions.

FLUCTUATIONS IN THE VALUE OF WEALTH

In general, the itch for wealth varies directly with its capacity to satisfy one's desires. Since this capacity varies from place to place and from age to age, it follows that *the value of wealth is subject to rise*

and fall, not, of course, in terms of any kind of material good, but in terms of the things against which wealth may be balanced.

For there are markets in which such balancing occurs. There are streets where woman's virtue is sold for money, communities where there is a ruling price for votes. From the pay scale of occupations which differ in respect to independence, safety, and good repute, one can compute the amount of money which will overcome the love of independence, of safety, and of good repute. We see individuals sacrificing health or leisure, or mating, or offspring, or friends, or liberty, or truth, for gain. The relative volume of such spiritual goods Mammon can lure into his market at a given time and place, *measures the power of money*. By the choices men make in such cases and by the judgment others pass upon such choices, we can arrive at the current social estimate of wealth. When gold cannot shake the nobleman's pride of caste, the statesman's patriotism, the soldier's honor, the wife's fidelity, the servant's loyalty, the scholar's veracity, the official's sense of duty, the artist's devotion to his ideal, *wealth is cheap*. But when maidens wed senile moneybags, youths swarm about the homely heiress, judges take bribes, experts sell their opinions to the highest bidder, and genius champions the course it does not believe in, *wealth is dear*.

WHAT MAKES WEALTH APPRECIATE

The *advance of technique* constantly augments the power of wealth to gratify desire. Thus the introduction of perfumes and spices gave new sensuous gratifications, spirituous liquors provided a short-cut to social pleasure, armor offered safety in battle, the coming in of cattle enabled heads of kine to be trophies as well as scalp locks and captives. The discovery of medicaments gave new weapons against disease. The art of embalming met in a way the longing for perpetuity. The origination of art products provided new embodiments of beauty. Since by exchange any material good may be converted into any other, each of these changes added to the desirability of wealth in general.

When in China one marks how much more the treaty port missionary gets from his little income laid out on the products of Western knowledge and skill than the rich mandarin from his wealth of Chinese products, one realizes how invention has multiplied the categories of material goods. In his medicine case, eye-glasses, microscope, field glass, camera, talking machine, motorcycle, swivel chair, vacuum cleaner, fruit orchard, driven well, etc., the missionary has values all the money in China cannot procure from native skill.

Shiftings of custom and opinion sometimes raise and sometimes lower the importance of material goods.

At times the power of wealth and consequently the craving for it have been augmented by the custom of wife-purchase, the system of *wergeld* or money compensation for crimes, the acceptance of damages as a salve for injury, the passing of prestige from trophies of personal prowess—such as heads, scalps, and bear's claws—to herds, acres, and bonds, the reliance upon clothing instead of tattooing as a means of charming the opposite sex, the belief that burnt-offerings win the favor of the gods or that masses deliver the soul from purgatory, the passing of political power from the Elders or the Fighters to the Wealthy, the decay of the distinction between "noble" and "mean" employments, the yielding of patrician ranks to the pressure of the new-rich, the lapsing of birth as a ground of social superiority, the gaining of "conspicuous consumption" on "conspicuous leisure" as a means of good repute, the enlistment of the artist in the service of Cræsus instead of the service of temple or church.

WHAT MAKES WEALTH DEPRECIATE

On the other hand, there are movements which have shorn lucre of some of its power. Woman's resumption of free disposal of herself, the rise of romantic love, the custom of courtship, and the dispensing with the "marriage portion," have nearly freed Cupid from Mammon! "Justification by faith," the suppression of masses, pilgrimages and indulgences, the dispensing with altar and image, the open Bible, the lay chalice and the unadorned "meeting house" have well-nigh separated the favor of God from the payment of money. The protection of the law is no longer exclusively for those who can pay for it. Public hospitals and free dispensaries socialize the healing art. The printing press and the free library have popularized the sweets of literature. The abolition of hireling armies, of imprisonment for debt, of child labor, and of property qualifications for the suffrage are so many dykes reclaiming smiling stretches from dreary commercialism.

ROOTS OF THE RELIGIOUS INTEREST

A primary factor in the *religious interest* has been the desire to experience ecstasy. Primitive peoples love this enlargement of consciousness and no one who has seen persons "getting happy" at a camp meeting will doubt the reality or the seductiveness of such states. Then the wonder aroused by the more arresting phenomena of Nature

sets up speculations as to their causation which gratify the impulse of curiosity. Moreover, man's sense of helplessness before the personal powers he conceives as causes of fear-inspiring natural events excites in him the instinct of submission and throws him into the attitude of self-abasement. Intimidated he seeks by acts and gestures of propitiation to assure his safety. In time he conceives the idea of utilizing these imagined personal powers. He covenants with them that in return for regular praise and sacrifice they shall grant increase and prosperity. Thus the gods acquire economic importance. Becoming more fully domesticated they are approached with confidence and worship is prompted by love and gratitude as well as by fear, or expectation of benefits. With the advent of collective worship, religious feasts endear themselves as occasions of intense social pleasure. Moreover, the common worship of the gods for public ends makes them props of order, bulwarks of family, property, and state. As ethical thought develops, the gods are conceived as deliverers from temptation rather than from misfortune. Philosophy blends with the theory of the gods so that religion provides answers for the *Why? Whence? and Whither?* of the restless intellect. In the priestly cults religion becomes a stepping stone to power and so enlists ambition. The Hebrew prophets incorporate into religion their passion for social justice. Thus a great variety of human passions, instincts, and yearnings have at one time or another helped magnify religion to the dimensions of a history-making force. No wonder that at times one has looked upon all coworshippers as friends and all deniers of one's god as enemies.

UPS AND DOWNS OF RELIGION

The religious interest waxes and wanes with men's necessities. The gods are remembered in danger, forgotten in security; valued when the state rests on authority, ignored when government is founded on consent; adored as guardians of the right, but neglected after Justice gains her sword. Every forward stride in man's mastery of Nature and control over men lessens his dependence on the Unseen. A sense of security from violence, plague, calamity, and future torment weakens the fears behind religion. As people come to look to the policeman for protection, to the physician for healing, to the inventor for victory, and to themselves for worldly success, their anxious zeal in worship abates. Religion abides, purer and nobler to be sure, but less potent as a maker of history.

ROOTS OF THE POLITICAL INTEREST

Partly ally, partly rival, of the *religious interest* is the *political interest*. At certain epochs of social history, people worry as much about keeping a whole skin as about getting the next meal. Hence, for the bringers of security, they feel emotions as deep as their feelings for wealth or for the gods. In fear of having their throats cut by the enemy they cheerfully submit to the will of the war leader. In dread of evil-doers they rally round a power that can make law respected. They come to feel intense love and loyalty toward the state-building kings and dynasties, and hate recalcitrants.

The appetite for power, however, impels the masterful to supply too much government. In time the absolute state reveals its true inwardness and men start back in affright. Then ensues a struggle to wrest from government guarantees of individual liberties and rights. The next step is to dispense with governing families and classes and organize a state whose master is the people. Finally the people's state is used for a multitude of services unheard of in an earlier day.

FLUCTUATIONS IN THE POLITICAL INTEREST

The intensity of feeling about the state varies with its apparent importance in the general scheme. Political loyalty is strongest when enemy blows rain harmless on the shield the state holds over its people. The flame of patriotism rises or sinks with the approach or retreat of violence. To the degree that peace and order, individual liberty, and democratic control are attained, the old fears and passions die. Free associations take over the promotion of culture. Public opinion comes to be the chief regulator of conduct and law but reflects public opinion. The non-political side of society comes forward and politics ceases to be an arch joiner and sunderer of men.

ROOTS OF THE INTELLECTUAL INTEREST

The *intellectual interest* has far outgrown the craving for knowledge inspired by the instinct of curiosity. Even in the early stages of culture a reputation for extraordinary wisdom brings the sage fame, favor and wealth. Later, learning confers distinction and has a value in bread-winning and mate-winning. As for real knowledge, it has been means as well as end. Its branches were first cultivated as badges of leisure-class superiority. Later the sciences were promoted because

they relieved pain, prolonged life, brought military victory, and vastly augmented the production of wealth.

WHY SCIENCE HAS BEEN TOLERATED

Down to about the middle of the eighteenth century it was a question whether supernaturalism might not crush science; but since then science has so won the favor and confidence of the people by her triumphs over disease and her conquest of the forces of Nature, that it does not seem possible for bigots to bind her again in chains. Although to most men their religious traditions are infinitely dearer than the quest of Truth, they see that they cannot have from science the immense services she is rendering them unless they tolerate free inquiry. So, although the *craving to find out* is very weak in comparison with the passions and interests which fear and hate it, it enjoys immunity because the world has learned that *knowledge is power*.

THEORIES OF SOCIAL DETERMINISM

The dominance of now this interest and now that creates the illusion that some one force is the maker of history. When the state attains its broadest significance *the military-political interest* seems to be the swaying force in history. When religion reaches its broadest significance *the religious interest* appears as the chief uniter and divider of men. Now, it happens that in modern times certain influences have weakened the political and religious interests and thereby thrown into bolder relief other interests, chief among which is the *economic*. *Economism*, so helpful a key to the evolution of modern society, is now offered as the "Open sesame!" to the locked chambers of the past, the magic formula for the interpretation of history. Its one rival is *intellectualism* which pivots the whole social life of an age on its knowledge and beliefs. But these are one-sided theories and cannot explain the past as successfully as they explain the present.

Men's attitudes and actions depend most on what most worries them. When they worry chiefly about what the Unseen will do to them, the course of society will be most affected by developments in the field of Religion. When they lie awake for fear their property or their lives will be taken, their attitude toward everything will depend on how it is related to the security-furnishing organization, i.e., the State. When their supreme anxiety is where the next meal is coming from, they will be for everything that promises to promote economic success and against everything which appears to hinder it. As soon as

one worry is soothed it ceases to shape the course of history and some other worry takes charge.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. How is the wealth interest built up?
2. Explain the fluctuations in the intensity of the desire for wealth.
3. Why are social crises likely to be times of religious revival?
4. Account for the ups and downs of religion.
5. What are the origins of the demand for government?
6. Account for the fluctuations of the political interest.
7. Why has science been tolerated despite her habit of unsettling religious beliefs?
8. What is the theory of worries as prime determiners of history?

EXERCISES

26. How does the doctrine that lies behind the parable of the widow's mite affect the desirability of wealth?
27. Has Ford's car augmented or diminished people's hankering for *wealth* (as distinguished from *livelihood*)?
28. What probably will be the effect upon this hankering of the growing use of the airplane?
29. What was the influence of Roosevelt's example and teaching upon the attitude of the rising generation toward wealth-getting?
30. How have the discovery of the germ origin of disease and the use of serums affected the importance of religion?
31. What developments of our time are strengthening the appeal of religion?
32. To what extent does human progress in this country depend upon what government does or fails to do? Would you say fifteen per cent.? Or fifty per cent.? Reasons.

Why do we want wealth?
- To make life more comfortable
or indirect rewards
social distinction

CHAPTER VI

THE RACE FACTOR

IS each race of men marked out for a distinct social destiny and are the contrasts we find among contemporary peoples to be explained in terms of race?

RACE OR SOCIAL HISTORY?

The ignorant always invoke race to account for any peculiarity common to a certain stock. Why is the Chinese a conservative? Race. Why is the Turk a fatalist? Race. Why is the Semite a monotheist? Race. Why is the Nordic a Protestant? Race. The vulgar wonder why the Chinese toil so hard, the Jews trade, the English follow sport, and the Germans engage in philosophical speculation, until some one tells them, "It's in the blood." Then they go away satisfied.

As soon, however, as we explore the social history of a people we come upon the roots of many of its puzzling traits. The Jew's distaste for farming is seen to be a traditional attitude caused by confinement in the Ghetto for several centuries and debarment from owning farm land. The proverbial thriftlessness of the Irish peasant comes from centuries of alien landlordism and rack-renting. Were it a race trait it would show also in his cousins, the Welshman, the Cornishman, and the Breton. The passion of the Dutch for cleanliness seems to be a product of a social standard made possible by easy access to water. In parts of China threaded by canals the standards of cleanliness are much higher than where water is not close at hand. On the other hand, the small use of water by the masses in Italy is said to be connected with the fact that many of the towns are situated on a hill, so that water has to be brought from a distance. The national traits of the Japanese seem queer to us, and here if anywhere one is attempted to appeal to race. But it has been made clear that such Japanese peculiarities as self-immolation in battle, ritual suicide, and exaggerated politeness are products of the severe feudal compression from which they have only recently escaped.

Races certainly appear to differ in the strength of their native propensities. There is an imposing stock of facts which seem to prove

that the negro has a fiercer sex appetite than other men, that the South Italian has a bent for murder, that the Irishman has a rare taste for fighting, the Jew for money-lending, the gipsy for wandering, the Levantine for lying, the Slav for anarchy, the Frenchman for gesticulation, the Yankee for asking personal questions. The trait is there to be sure; but is it because the owner has a stronger proclivity than we, or because he lacks the idea or social standard which prompts us to inhibit our proclivity? The Yankee has seen no reason to repress his inquisitiveness, the Slav lacks the social experience which generates reverence for law, the Jew is not heir to leisure-class ideals, the Frenchman has developed no standard which excludes gesticulation, the negro has not canalized his sex appetite.

DIFFERENCES IN RACE PSYCHE

Nevertheless, after making due allowance for the molding of a people's *psyche* by the products of its social evolution, there remain veritable differences in race mind. There is a mountain of evidence that the Northern peoples of Europe and most nature peoples are more intemperate than Southern races like the Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, and Semites. The latter have known strong drink for some thousands of years and those over-fond of vinous exhilaration drank themselves to death long ago. If the physical environment can thus mold the appetite it is likely that other contrasts have been produced by processes we do not yet understand.

Before our immigration boards of inquiry the emotional instability of the South Italians stands out in the sharpest contrast to the self-control of the Hebrew and the stolidity of the Slav. They gesticulate much, and usually tears stand in their eyes. When two witnesses are being examined, both talk at once, and their hands will be moving all the time. Their glances flit quickly from one questioner to the other and their eyes are the restless uncomprehending eyes of the desert Bedouin between walls. Yet for all this eager attention, they are slow to catch the meaning of a simple question.

Mindful of these darting eyes and hands, one does not wonder that the Sicilian will stab his best friend in a sudden quarrel over a game of cards; that other nationalities shun railroad camps with many Italians; that contractors are afraid of them because the whole force will impulsively quit work, perhaps flare into a riot, if they imagine one of their number has suffered a wrong.

The principal of a school with four hundred Sicilian pupils observes

that on the playground they are at once more passionate and more vindictive than other children. The teacher "has to sit on the lid all the time." Their restlessness keeps the truant officer busy and their darting flickering attention denies them concentration and the steady telling stroke. For all their seeming alertness, when at fourteen they quit school they are rarely beyond the third or fourth grade. These people are not primitives. Their ancestors were civilized when ours went in skins. Yet if such people had populated the American colonies is it likely they would ever have given the Declaration of Independence to the world?¹

As one goes about in Japan and notes the indefatigable striving for beauty among even the common people, whereas the Chinese, the authors of the civilization the brown people borrowed, make no great sacrifices for beauty's sake, one infers that the Japanese inherit a specific sensitiveness to beauty. The only peoples which can be compared with them in esthetic endowment are the French and the Mexicans. It is significant that peoples gifted esthetically are extraordinarily vibrant to sex.

THE "CELTIC TEMPERAMENT"

Compare the American-born Scandinavians with the Irish born here. Professors notice that lads of the former breed are slow to grasp the principles of the machinery explained in the college of agriculture and need a diagram to supplement oral description of a ventilating system. A physical director working among Scandinavians

¹ "The Northerners seem to surpass the South Europeans in innate ethical endowment. Comparison of their behavior in marine disasters shows that discipline, sense of duty, presence of mind, and consideration for the weak are much more characteristic of North Europeans. The South Europeans, on the other hand, are apt, in their terror, to forget discipline, duty, women, children, everything but the saving of their own lives. In shipwreck, it is the exceptional Northerner who forgets his duty and the exceptional Southerner who is bound by it. The suicide of the Italian officers on board the doomed *Monte Tabor*, the *Notice*, and the *Ajace*, is in striking contrast to the sense of responsibility of the Northerners in charge of the *Cimbria*, the *Geiser*, the *Strathcona*, and the *City of Paris*. Compare the mad struggle for the boats among the South Europeans on *La Bourgogne*, the *Ailsa*, and the *Utopia* with the self-possession of the Scandinavian emigrants on the *Waesland* and the *Denmark*, and the consideration for women and children shown on the sinking *Mohegan*, the *Waesland* and the *Titanic*." Ross, *The Old World in the New*, p. 295.

If the difference be attributed to inhibition by traditional social standards, how shall we account for the excellent behavior of American negroes in some of the disasters above mentioned?

observes that his boy scouts cannot "size up" a camp site till the brush has been cleared from it. His gymnasts could not "get the hang" of the new gymnasium till the scaffolding was down. The Scandinavian merchant is said to put little visualizing into his advertising. As business man he is a "stand patter," lacking the American's power to anticipate developments and to foresee a business where none exists. As farmer he lacks vision of the future of his soil. As investor he is unspeculative, for large remote profits do not appeal to him. As labor leader he lacks vision and idealism. As advocate he makes a hard-headed plea without sentiment and as after-dinner speaker he lacks wit and fancy.

Scandinavians care little for the social side of their labor unions. They do not warm up to the employer who treats them "right." As teachers they do not attach their pupils to them. These unsociable sons of the North do not shine as bar-tenders, salesmen, canvassers, commercial travelers, or life-insurance solicitors.

Compare now the careers of those of Irish blood in the same American city. With their Celtic imagination as a magic glass they see into the human heart and know just how to touch its strings. No one can wheedle like an Irish beggar or "blarney" like an Irish ward boss. Not only do the Irish furnish stirring orators, persuasive stump-speakers, moving pleaders, and delightful after-dinner speechmakers, but they shine as salesmen, commercial travelers, foremen, executives, army officers, politicians, teachers, and labor organizers. They succeed as trial lawyers because they can play upon the jury and are quick in thrust and parry. They abound in newspaper offices because their imagination enables them to keep "in touch" with their readers.

If in a common environment far from their home lands these two stocks lead such different careers and make such different impressions upon impartial observers, there must be something in the "Celtic temperament."

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN BRAIN POWER

Whatever be their differences on the effective side, no one can doubt that races differ in intellectual ability. Otherwise why should most unbiased observers rate the Chinese intellectually above the Japanese, the Chinese of Fokien above those of Hupeh, the Indians of Peru above the Indians of Ecuador, the Senegalese above the Guinea Negroes, the North Italians above the South Italians, the Russian Jews above the Slavic Russians, the Armenians above the Kurds, the Arabs

above the Turks? Some of these contrasts may be due to opportunity, stimulation, or social inheritance, but surely not all. Of course every stock has wit enough to meet its conditions of existence, else it could not have survived; but our morons survive without aid and it may be that some races are as far apart in capacity as the normals and the morons in our own population.

HOW WINTER PUTS A PREMIUM ON BRAINS

It would be strange, indeed, if races *were* equal in intellect. It is significant that thinking man does not develop in the humid tropics. Superior brain power appears not where Nature spreads the board, but where the basis of subsistence is artificial and food-getting is interrupted by winter. Among men forced off into harsh climates those would best survive who possessed the foresight and self-control to hoard stores of food to carry them through the cold season when food was not to be collected. Those who did not foresee late-winter starvation or, foreseeing it, could not control their appetites or their laziness sufficiently to provide for meeting it, were eliminated.

LUCK AND HISTORY

This is not to endorse the doctrine of the intellectual superiority of all whites over the rest of humanity. This claim has some plausibility just now but it would have seemed absurd when the Saracenic civilization reached its climax under Haroun-al-Raschid or when the Chinese flowered under the Sung dynasty. Fortune has something to do with the fate of peoples. Persians and Arabs were overwhelmed by the Mongols. The Chinese have been "out of luck" since the Middle Ages. The Russians were held back by their exposure to the invasions of Asiatic nomads. The Armenians have had no fair chance since they fell under the Turkish yoke. The Aryans of India long ago came on evil days. Each race, then, should be appraised *according to its performance at its zenith*.

PUBLIC POLICIES WHICH AFFECT RACE BALANCE

We have to pronounce upon the relative worth of races because what we nationally do or refrain from doing affects the racial opportunity for expansion. Our war with Mexico in 1848 resulted in the substitution in the annexed territory of millions of whites for Indians and *mestizos*. How ought an impartial spectator, say a philosophical Oriental, to regard this?

When we extended our Chinese exclusion laws to the Philippine Islands, we narrowed the sphere of expansion of the yellow race in order to reserve the islands for the posterity of the Malays. This may give the Malays a greater share in the ultimate population of the globe. Is this rational?

The West Coast countries of South America are worrying about Oriental immigration but they realize that they are not strong enough to exclude the Japanese and it may not be long before they will be unable to exclude the Chinese. But a large insweep of Oriental coolies would press the bulk of the Indian and the *mestizo* population of tropical South America to the wall, so that Asiatic blood would largely replace Indian blood in Western South America. The Indian blood is doomed unless the United States throws its weight on the side of these countries in their endeavor to bar out Oriental immigrants. If we are appealed to thus to extend the Monroe Doctrine, must not our decision rest upon some notion as to the comparative value of the Oriental races and the Indian races?

The prolificacy of the negroes in the American South is so great that, were it not largely offset by an appalling infant death rate, the colored people would soon overwhelm the whites. If health officers and social workers put forth as much effort to lower the death rate of colored children as they do to lower that of white children, this overwhelming would actually take place. Is it the duty of the whites to use their superior intelligence against their own expansion and in furtherance of negro expansion?

The progress of civilization makes ever-severer demands upon the intelligence and if we wish our civilization to be *democratic*, i.e., understood and sustained by the majority, we should bar out stupid elements. However amiable the dogma that at bottom one race is as good as another, it is not only unscientific but positively mischievous at a time when the peoples are in movement and decisions are being made which share the surface and resources of the globe among the various races.

DANGERS IN THE RECOGNITION OF RACE INEQUALITY

On the other hand, recognition of the unequal value of races is fraught with great danger. Not only does it sow discord at a time when the brotherly spirit was never so much needed, but it imperils the very existence of little and backward peoples. Any stigma of inferiority we cast upon a race may be made the excuse for their maltreatment and exploitation, perhaps even their extermination, by the

capitalists behind the imperialistic policy of nations. Rather than let loose upon the weak this devastating greed one would cling to the majestic declaration of St. Paul to the Athenians: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

What we know about the comparative value of races gives no people grounds for dispossessing or exterminating any portion of mankind. On the other hand, we *do* know enough to have warrant for preferring one race to another in disposing of opportunities to expand and for discriminating among races in admitting strangers to the national society.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Name some national traits which have their origin in social history.
2. Show that the *psyche* of the South Italians differs from that of the North European stocks.
3. Contrast Scandinavians with Irish born and reared under like conditions.
4. How may winter have developed brains?
5. Should races be appraised according to their comparative performance in our own time?
6. Show how the Monroe Doctrine may affect race balance.
7. Show the dangers of recognizing inequalities of races.

EXERCISES

33. Is there such a thing as a "natural antipathy" between certain races?
34. What do you think of Madison Grant's statement: "Serfdom in medieval Europe was a device through which the landowners overcame the nomadic instincts of their tenantry." "As soon as these nomadic instincts ceased to exist serfdom vanished."
35. What do you think of Ward's theory of the "civilizing rôle" of slavery. "The capacity to labor is a typical 'acquired character' that has been transmitted in minute additions from parent to offspring and from generation to generation of slaves, until great numbers of men were at last born with a 'natural' or constitutional power to apply themselves to monotonous tasks during their whole lives." Do you think that we are all descendants of slaves?
36. Assuming that the crossing of physically unlike races or stocks is undesirable, is it better for a society to rear a barrier of exclusion against immigrants who ought not to intermarry with its own people, or to admit them and then prevent intermarriage by some caste line or color line?

Keep out yellow race

1910 - 3 of those who were Chinese brought by ship.
1890 - 2 70 years old came over before

Caritative →
Ethical forces = forces from within
Cosmic = forces from without.

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

IT is obvious that the characteristics of the immediate physical environment—climate, soil, minerals, topography, elevation, contour, waterways, rainfall, harbors, etc.,—dictate the size and local distribution of a population, the key industries, the basic occupations, the lines of specialization, the mode of life, the routes of migration, the channels of transportation, and the character of commerce. In a word, *the environment determines the general economic basis of society*. Since no one disputes this, the real question is the influence of the environment upon human relations, social organization, institutions, moral and esthetic standards, the fine arts, religion and intellectual development.

CLIMATE AND HUMAN ENERGY

In a very marked way *climate* conditions social phenomena. In the Tropics where food is provided the year round without labor on man's part, where frost and drouth do not afflict, where shelter and clothing are simple or even superfluous, Nature has done so much that there is little left for man to do. Hence it is not in warm and moist climes that civilization has developed. The natives of the Tropics have the reputation of being indolent and untrustworthy, *mañana* folk. Only where Nature requires man to exert himself has he developed the energy and enterprise necessary for any signal achievement.

In the Polar regions, on the other hand, where there can be no stock-raising, agriculture, or mining, where the food basis is extremely narrow and the woods, fibers, clays, and metals we rely on are not to be had, where life is an eternal struggle with cold, darkness and famine, culture remains low and society does not advance beyond the rudimentary stage. So it is in the intermediate climes that we come upon energy, ambition, self-reliance, industry, and thrift. In the Temperate belt Nature offers few free gifts, but she recompenses man for the sweat of his brow and for his exercise of self-control and forethought. She braces him for labor and does not break down his habits of industry with enervating heat or a long benumbing winter.

Significant is the migration within historic time of the major centers of human energy away from the warm belt. When the curtain of history rises the brilliant foci are in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and India. During the classical period the peninsulas of the Mediterranean are the brightest spots. In the Middle Ages Northern Italy, France, and Germany house the busiest hives. Modern times have seen Holland, England, Scandinavia, Russia, Canada, New Zealand, and Argentina come to the fore. One cause of this secular movement of civilization toward the inclement climates is *the development of the arts of conquering cold*, which permits man to avail himself more and more of the stimulus afforded by the bracing winter and the sharp seasonal changes of the Temperate zone. Had the *art of cooling* kept pace with the *art of heating* the story might have been different. Ever since he invented fire and clad himself in skins, man has been in the way of invading the harsher climes; but only our own time has seen the beginning of a *technique of cooling* which may yet enable him to conquer the Tropics instead of succumbing to them.

CLIMATE AND POLITICS

In the Tropics there is no real self-government nor is there prospect of it. The natives of the hot humid zone lack the energy and self-control to provide themselves with such government as they need. If, as is almost inevitable, they fall under the hand of powers in the Temperate zone, their white residents constitute an upper caste and become the real rulers. The natives, although an immense majority, have little or no voice in their own government. Moreover, the white rulers tend to lose in time the democratic standards and ideals they may have brought with them and to gravitate toward the level of the natives rather than lift them to their own high plane.

Climate, no doubt, is the key to many of the invasions and conquests which have bent the current of history again and again. Peoples living at ease in the warm lowlands have been overrun by hardier races bred in the more vigorous climates farther north or higher up. In time the invaders themselves become enervated and succumb to the onslaught of another people from a harsh environment. The descent of the Aryans into India, the conquest of the Chinese by Mongols and Manchus, the recurrent barbarian invasions of Greece and Italy, the southward movement of Toltecs and Aztecs in Mexico, the northward pressure of Kaffirs and Patagonians, the absorption of Africa into

European "spheres of influence," illustrate the equatorward drive from the less kindly climates.

RELIGION AND ENVIRONMENT

Climate and scene write themselves clearly into *the middle stages* of religion. After the stage of fetichism religion appears as a means of accounting for and controlling those natural phenomena which seem most to affect human life. The mysterious annual rise of the Nile was a matter of life and death to the people of Egypt, so the adoration of the Nile became a part of their religion.¹ On the lofty plateaus of the Central Andes where it is always cold, sun-worship was quite natural. In ancient India the chief god was, of course, *Indra* the rain-giver. On the other hand, in Egypt the Satan was *Typhon*, the malevolent deity that sent the parching wind, while in India the Satan was *Vritra*, who holds back the rain. In Norway the evil gods were the frost giants and the mountains.

"In Norse mythology," says Whitbeck, "heaven was a place of warmth and hell a place of cold and mist, but in the religions of Palestine and Arabia hell is a place of heat—eternal fire. To the Arab of the desert paradise was dreamed of as an oasis, or a garden, always having flowing water, shade trees, and fruit." To the ancient Hebrews, a settled people surrounded by marauding desert tribes, walls were the symbol of safety and hence heaven or the "New Jerusalem" is a walled city with gates of precious stones and streets of gold.

Whether a people conceive of heaven as a place of eternal rest or as a garden with shade and flowing water, or as a happy hunting ground, or a walled city or a great hall like the Norse Valhalla where those who die in battle continue to fight for Odin, will naturally depend on what that particular people regards as the acme of happiness; and this in turn will depend upon the special kinds of discomfort, privation, unhappiness, want, and suffering to which that people is subjected—in short the adverse elements of its environment.

Both Greek and Norse mythologies sprang from old Aryan sky worship. But Greek mythology turned on the recurrence of day and night, while in Norway, where the contrast of the seasons is far more dramatic than in Greece, the mythology turned on the alternation of

¹ Whitbeck, "Religion and Environment," *The Geographical Review*, April, 1918.

winter and summer. When the Aryans, a pastoral people, entered India their chief deity was *Dyaus* (sky); *Indra*, his son, the rain-giver, was of minor rank. But after they turned farmers and became vitally interested in rainfall, *Dyaus* shrank to a secondary deity and *Indra* took the highest place. No wonder Keary concludes, "the creed of a people is always greatly dependent upon their position on this earth, upon the scenery amid which their life is passed and the natural phenomena to which they become habituated; that the religion of men who live in woods will not be the same as that of the dwellers in wide open plains; nor the creed of those who live under an inclement sky, the sport of storms and floods, the same as the religion of men who pass their lives in sunshine and calm air."²

SEX RELATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

15 Sex relations bear witness at times to the power of the environment. The inhabitants of barren mountain mass or plateau are ever threatened by overpopulation. Fear of this may establish the custom of late marriage or send a large part of the adults into monasteries, as we find in Thibet. The institution of polyandry, so repugnant to the jealous instincts of the male, nevertheless appears quite frequently among mountain peoples as a means of avoiding the further division of plots so small that already each barely supports a family.

On islets (e.g., Polynesia) there is soon no more room and the necessity of arresting human increase is obvious to all. Hence infanticide prevails and in some cases is even enforced by law. Marriage takes the form of polyandry or perhaps a system of prostitution springs up. The result is a breaking down of sex morals and a decay of the finer sentiments of the family. Moreover the constant dread of overpopulation causes a low value to be set on human life, manifesting itself in neglect of the aged, cannibalism, human sacrifice, slaughter in warfare, and a free use of capital punishment.

NATURE AND GOVERNMENT

Nature is no mean factor in determining the political destiny of a people. The creation and maintenance of irrigation canals calls for coöperation and for this reason high political organization first appears along rivers traversing deserts like the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Riobamba. Along the Hoang-Ho in China the necessity of controlling the flood waters seems to have forced an early development of the

² *Outlines of Primitive Belief*, p. 325.

state. Among agricultural people in an open plain, a strong government soon develops, partly because the people desire protection from hungry swooping hill tribes, partly because the law-breaker has no safe refuge to fly to, and there is no natural barrier to shelter local resistance. On the other hand, in mountain country like the Scottish Highlands, Corsica, Albania, Macedonia, the Caucasus, and Afghanistan, natural barriers split up the people into petty groups each independent of the others. Only late, and generally in consequence of subjugation by an outside power, do highlanders emerge from a condition of chronic intestinal warfare, brigandage, and lawlessness. Switzerland is one of the rare instances of mountain-dwellers attaining political unity of their own free will.

IS THE POWER OF ENVIRONMENT GROWING?

As society progresses does man become less dependent on his geographical environment or more dependent? Some hold for the latter. The roving tribe is hardly more attached to the land than the tumbleweed of the prairie. But civilized men strike root deep into the earth. They clear, level, drain, fence, plant, bridge, cut roads, sink shafts, canalize streams, build levees, dam rivers, and in a thousand ways entwine themselves with a particular land, from which they cannot be dislodged save by a cataclysm.

If it be held that at least steam transportation and commerce emancipate men from their local environment, it may be demurred that locality never left a sharper impress on economic life than it does to-day. Formerly a community *had* to diversify its production in order to provide for its wants. But cheap carriage sets a community free to import everything it requires and to concentrate its labor upon the one industry in which its locality has the greatest advantage. Whatever be its best profit-maker—raising cranberries, oyster-tonging, celery-growing, turpentine-gathering, or digging iron ore—it gives itself up to it. And since occupations leave their own stamp on character, e.g., horse-trading, vine-growing, gold-mining, etc.—the dominant industry marks the whole life of the community, so that more than formerly it is molded by its immediate environment.

As consumers, on the other hand, men free themselves from the limitations of their locality and draw upon the whole world. Amid Alaskan snows the miner enjoys tropical fruits, tea from China, coffee from Brazil, sugar from Cuba. Besides, if he likes, he may read poetry inspired by palm trees and coral islands, listen to music that

takes its *motif* from shepherd's pipe or temple bells, and enter imaginatively into the life and thoughts of any group of men on the globe.

MAN'S SLOW EMANCIPATION FROM GEOGRAPHY

There can be no doubt that as man advances in civilization he withdraws himself more and more from the lordship of geography. Man has pierced, dug, hewn, dredged, and blasted away not a few of the natural features which divide him from other men. Of water barriers he has made liquid highways. On the wide seas he goes about at will in defiance of wave, trade wind, current, tempest, and ice-floe. He rushes the desert in a few hours with an iron camel which easily carries fifty times the fodder it consumes. Now that he is leaping into aerial highways, he disdains the rivers, mountain chains, wastes, jungles, swamps, and tundras which once shut communities in so many cells. More and more, the obstacles to the fellowship and mutual aid of peoples and races are found *in the human mind* rather than in Nature.

A religion springs up bearing a deep impress from a particular scene. Elsewhere one springs up with a different stamp. Here one is born with a pastoral twist, and there one with an agricultural slant. When these religions meet, as they are bound to do in time, what will happen? Obviously a people will be slow to take up with a religion of an utterly alien climate and scene. Hence many will disappear, while others will fuse or develop in such a way as to lose the sharp impress of their birthplace. Thus as tribal cults give way to universal religions the geographic stamp grows fainter, for the winning faiths are not those adapted to external Nature—which is various—*but to human nature*—which is everywhere much the same.

The marriage customs of nature peoples have obviously been molded by locality—the aging effect of the climate on women, the comparative value of men and women in the chief occupation, the food possibilities, etc. But in the course of social evolution the institution of monogamous marriage develops, gains prestige, and begins its triumphal march. Finally it is able to pull communities in the most diverse climates and situations into one plane of practice, to exert a hydraulic even pressure without heed to geographic or climatic differences.

Crowded and anxious on their islets in the South Seas, the Polynesians resorted to practices which nauseate healthy human nature—infanticide, abortion, man-eating, the sanctioned murder of the aged

and infirm. In the same strait, however, civilized islanders hold to their standards and ease the strain by such innocent means as postponing marriage or emigrating. The Thibetans solve their problem of population increase by polyandry; but Christian mountaineers accept no such dictate from their inhospitable environment. With them the marriage institution is granite, whereas with nature peoples it is wax.

Thus, as civilization develops, social institutions are molded more by the products of human thought and less by impressions from Nature. Ideas play a greater rôle, climate and scene a lesser rôle. Man becomes a citizen of the world rather than a parish and *psychology* rather than *geography* provides the keys to social evolution.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show that in the Tropics Nature is too easy on man, while in the Polar regions she is too hard on him.
2. Account for the drift of the centers of civilization toward cooler climates.
3. Why are the Tropics always ruled from the Temperate regions?
4. Illustrate the "equatorial drift of peoples."
5. Show the influence of the physical environment on religion.
6. Show how environment influences sex relations.
7. Is the power of the environment growing?
8. Show that more and more it is mental rather than physical barriers that hold peoples apart.
9. Show that religion is becoming emancipated from the physical environment.

EXERCISES

37. Is it likely that the rural children of the warm lands will ever enjoy as much schooling as the rural children of the Temperate Zone? Why?
38. Which is the dominant tendency in American agriculture—toward the production of special crops or toward diversified farming?
39. What are the characteristic traits of seafaring men? Of miners of the precious metals? Of stock raisers?
40. Why do the dwellers along the lower Mississippi River and the inhabitants of our Mountain states have a respect for the State which is rare in other parts of our country?
41. Is the difference in emotional background between plains-dwellers (Great Russians, Middle Westerners) and mountaineers (Swiss, denizens of our Mountain states) likely to grow or lessen?
42. Why is a people that has winter to contend with strongly averse to every form of civil disorder or revolution?

PART III
SOCIAL PROCESSES

Ethical { Original Forces, desires
Derivatives, interests
Racial.

Geographical

Outside forces to which we
adjust, but which do not come
from within us.

Social Processes. Way human beings
react together
From the primitive group to
many diff. processes.

Learn concepts through
efficiency

Society grows by cause and effect
mon-

forming a
family or rudimentary
primary association -
group.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GENESIS OF SOCIETY

WHAT makes us a society? Is it that we have certain things *in common*—language, religion, art, science, industrial technique? Or is it that we *do something together*? Since both likemindedness and coöperation enter into our idea of society, we cannot do better than adopt Giddings' definition:

Any group or number of human individuals who cultivate acquaintance and mental agreement, and who, knowing and enjoying their own likemindedness, are able to work together for common ends, is a Human Society.

EARLIEST SOCIETY

The primordial social grouping arose out of urgent needs and seems to have been a band of mothers with their children. Owing to his restlessness the male was probably no such stable member of the earlier human group as the woman. Thomas says:

Nuisance.

The woman was the social nucleus, the point to which he returned from his wanderings. In this primitive stage of society, however, the bond between woman and child was altogether more immediate and constraining than the bond between woman and man. The maternal instinct is reinforced by necessary and constant association with the child. We can hardly find a parallel for the intimacy of association between mother and child during the period of lactation; and, in the absence of domestic animals or suitable foods, and also, apparently, from simple neglect formally to wean the child, this connection is greatly prolonged. The child is frequently suckled from four to five years, and occasionally from ten to twelve. In consequence we find society literally growing up about the woman. The mother and her children, and her children's children, and so on indefinitely in the female line, form a group. But the men were not so completely incorporated in this group as the women, not only because parentage was uncertain and naming of children consequently on the female side, but because the man was neither by necessity nor disposition so much a home-keeper as the women and their children.

This is why the maternal system of kinship is found in all parts of the world where social advance stands at a certain level and the evidence indicates that every group which has attained a state of culture has passed through this stage.

It is probable that for a period of some tens of thousands of years there was never a human social aggregate larger than the group which could regularly find sufficient food without dispersing. So long as he depended only on such food as Nature provided, man would rarely be able to live in groups including a hundred individuals. An enduring cluster of half a thousand members could hardly appear until considerable progress had been made in developing an artificial basis of food supply. During the immense period in which the species lingered in this embryonic social state occurred its dispersal over the habitable globe and the subsequent development of racial differences under the influence of diverse geographic conditions.

DIFFUSION

Multiplying like any other animal, primitive man tended to expand up to the limits of his opportunities for gaining a living. As the horde grew, hunger would oblige it to break into two or more hordes, which would scatter in quest of food. In time such areas as were fitted to become the home of the species would be filled with small simple human groups. But, thanks to his gradual gain in brain power—which is very clearly recorded in the skulls of the successive races of the Stone Age—man was not confined, as were his prehuman ancestors, to warm and bountiful regions. He had the ingenuity to provide himself clothing and shelter and to devise ways of destroying enemy species and increasing his food supply. Thereby, in the words of Ward:

He was able to break over the faunal boundaries that limit the distribution of other species and to overflow into other regions to which he was not originally adapted. All other species are restricted to special districts and unable to quit them. . . . Man alone acquired this power and this was the result of his superior resourcefulness, due in turn to his inventive faculty. . . .

Thus emancipated from the slavery of the environment this favored species commenced that career of universal expansion which ultimately encompassed the entire globe. Although his memory was sufficient to establish the kinship group, this faculty was not sufficient to maintain a connection between the daughter hordes and the ancestral hordes from which they had descended and a few removes were sufficient to obliterate all traces of relationship. . . .

Those groups that had wandered farthest from the original center of dispersion were utter strangers to the mother group. As they moved out along special and extremely irregular lines, . . . there were soon produced many such terminal groups and these were usually remote from each other, often separated by seas or mountain chains. . . .

The period during which this process was going on, however long it may have been, may be called the period of *social differentiation*. In it languages were formed, but, owing to gradual isolation, each group acquired a language of its own. At least the variation that would naturally take place in the language of any group would soon render it practically a different language from that of any of the remoter groups from which it had descended. . . .

A fortiori would the languages of all the terminal groups be different from one another. It would be the same with customs. The differences of environment would alone accomplish this, but customs naturally tend to vary, and unless there be intercommunication, they rapidly differentiate. The customs as well as the languages of all the different radiating lines would be utterly unlike except in certain fundamentals. When customs and ceremonials at length took the form of cults and religions, these, too, were different, and all the scattered groups ultimately presented the utmost heterogeneity in all their social characteristics. Between them the only points of agreement were biological. They still all belonged to the same genus and the same species, and were all equally men.¹

PRIMARY ASSOCIATION

It is well to distinguish between *primary association*, i.e., the union of individuals or families into a group, and *secondary association*, i.e., the union of groups into a larger group. Primary association occurs either by *multiplication*, or by *congregation*.

Multiplication. No doubt there have been groups which grew out of the family. "The tribe may come into existence as a simple development of the family. The family like the tribe is fundamentally a food-seeking organization. It might terminate as soon as the youngest offspring are able to provide for themselves; but it would tend in the absence of disturbing causes to become permanent especially with man on account of the broad overlap of successive generations. Prolonged infancy attaches the children more to their parents and to one another. Parents likewise become attached to their children and to each other. The attachments thus deepened survive the temporary relations in which they originated, subsisting when the children have grown up and have

¹ The above quotations are from "Social Differentiation and Social Integration," *Am. Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VIII, p. 721.

formed for themselves new associations of the same kind." The family thus tends to generate a larger consanguineous group consisting of members belonging to three or even more generations, who pursue food-getting in common.

Formerly the natural expansion of the family was supposed to be the characteristic mode of genesis of a society. Now we look upon it as a rare occurrence because we recognize how considerations of food and safety have broken in upon the quiet growth of a family into a tribe.

From time to time local insufficiency of food will compel the kin group to break up. Thus Spencer remarks:

The primitive social group . . . never attains any considerable size by simple increase. Where, as among Fuegians, the supplies of wild food yielded by an inclement habitat will not enable more than a score or so to live in the same place—where, as among the Andamanese, limited to a strip of shore backed by impenetrable bush, forty is about the number of individuals who can find prey without going too far from their temporary abode—where, as among Bushmen, wandering over barren tracts, small hordes are alone possible, and even families are sometimes obliged to separate, since the same spot will not afford sustenance for all, we have extreme instances of the limitation of simple groups, and the formation of migrating groups when the limit is passed. Even in tolerably productive habitats, fission of the groups is eventually necessitated in a kindred manner. Spreading as its number increases, a primitive tribe presently reaches a diffusion at which its parts become incoherent, and it then gradually separates into tribes that become distinct as fast as their continually-diverging dialects pass into different languages.

On the other hand, an unusually bountiful source of food—rich fisheries, game trails, and haunts of wild animals—will be exploited not by a single family but by various persons, and a *congregate* society will result.

There is safety in numbers and hence, for the sake of mutual protection, people who derive no economic advantage from their association may come together and stay together. An isolated family dares not wait till it has expanded into a tribe able to take care of its own. Fear has been a great group builder. Aggregation, by increasing the power and the temptation to aggress, has been a cause of aggregation in neighbors or rivals. Hence, the making of war or the dread of war, has continually forced men into unions for which they felt no inclination.

Congregation. This is the convergence of non-kinsmen upon the

same locality and their cohesion into a group. This occurs particularly in

(a) *New countries.* Iceland, discovered in the ninth century, was speedily settled from the Norse communities of Norway, Ireland, and Scotland. All the provinces of Christian Spain contributed to the repopling of the lands vacated by the retiring Moors. The "Africanders" of South Africa are a blend of Dutch and French Huguenots. The colonies of England in North America attracted, besides all the British peoples, Dutch, French Huguenots, Swedes and Germans. In the course of the last forty years immigration has made the Americans one of the most heterogeneous and polyglot of modern peoples. Argentina is rapidly filling from the Iberian and Italian peninsulas and bids fair to become for the Latins what the United States once was for the Anglo-Saxons and the Celts.

(b) *New towns.* In the ancient world the walled city on account of its security tended to become a market and a trade center, luring the enterprising from afar so that its population became extremely mixed while yet the surrounding country was pure. Consequently it was in the city that the immemorial kinship grouping first broke down. The old families had to admit strangers into the social organization and the *bond of common residence* succeeded to the *bond of common blood* as the chief social tie. From its position on the routes of travel and trade the modern commercial city becomes exceedingly motley in composition. This is especially true of the ports at the meeting points of traffics and races, such as San Francisco, Manila, Singapore, Shanghai, Harbin, and Buenos Aires.

(c) *Sites of valuable natural deposits.* The gold rush first impressed upon California its cosmopolitan character. The lure of the Rand drew into the Transvaal so many *Uitlanders* that the Boers lost their country. Gold-mining camps like Nome, Leadville, Deadwood, Carson, and Cœur d'Alene are slow to develop a community sense, because the residents have so few ideas in common. The oil fields of California, Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico attract every species of North American, just as the nitrate beds of Chile attract every species of South American.

However mixed its original population, intermarriage will in three or four generations cause the congregate community to be almost as blood-related as if it had grown from a single family. What therefore finally determines the psychology of the community is not whether it was formed of blood kin or of strangers, but whether the members

freely intermarry and whether such likemindedness as it achieves is not continually raveled out by immigration.

SECONDARY ASSOCIATION

The union of groups—*conjugation*—is either free or forced, i.e., by *alliance* or by *conquest*.

The peaceful union of groups is exemplified by the Covenant with Jehovah which bound a number of desert tribes into the people of Israel; the Pan-Hellenic, Achæan and Ætolian leagues of Greece; the massing of barbarian German tribes for resistance against or attack upon Rome; the drawing together of the circle of communities about the coasts of Iceland in order to create a law-making body and a tribunal; the alliances of medieval cities; the union of six Indian tribes into the Iroquois confederacy; the league of New England colonies to wage war with the Indian combination effected under Philip; the union of thirteen English colonies to free themselves from Great Britain, and the confederacy of the slave-holding states of the South to draw out from the American union.

Not often, however, do enduring societies come into being in this way. Union for emergency action is not at first sustained either by the sentiment of kinship or by any close political organization. Born of practical necessity, it falls apart into its original elements after this necessity disappears. Only lasting pressure causing alliance to persist through several generations generates a real nation.

The union of social groups by force is *conquest*. This may take one of two forms. Suppose a regiment of white soldiers comes to dominate a Central African region. The colonel may keep his men together and rule the country from one point. Thus did the Dorians in Lacedemon, the Medes and Persians in Assyria, the Turks in the Balkans. This policy is not very fruitful in social results. The other way is for the regiment to break up into companies and occupy and govern districts. Each captain rules within his district, but bonds of sympathy and tradition unite the dispersed companies. On anniversaries they join in some religious or patriotic festival. Such was the mode of establishment of the Hellenes in Greece, the Hebrews in Palestine, the Normans in Normandy, Great Britain, Sicily, Neustria, and Russia. It rapidly transforms a simple tribe of conquerors into a complex nation by the inclusion of the conquered populations.

The superposing of one people upon another usually calls into being *great landed estates*. The conquerors plant themselves at various

strong points over the country in order to be able to nip in the bud any uprising. They assign large blocks of land to their foremost men, who thus become a territorial nobility. The lordship of these tracts is given not only as a reward for past military services, but on the condition that the holder keep his district in subjection and organize a local force to aid in the defense of the realm.

Sharp impassable lines of demarcation within society generally originate in conquest. Bagehot thinks that *caste* "could only begin in a country several times conquered and where the boundaries of each caste rudely coincide with the boundaries of certain sets of victors and vanquished."

Religious syncretism is another outgrowth of superposition. In ancient Babylonia, for example, the cities were in the first instance the places of residence of fellow tribesmen and were built around the temple of their divinity of fertility. The struggle between these cities for supremacy made now one city supreme over the others for a century or two, and now another. Empire fell to Shirpurla, then Erech, then Agade, then Erech, Ur, Isin, Ur, and Larsa in succession, and finally to Babylon about 2300 B.C. One result was a hierarchy of gods. The city that led for a few centuries would gain for its god a high place in the minds of the subjugated people, and the city that gained the supremacy first and held it for a long period would win for its god the headship of the pantheon. The deities of the other cities would be grouped around him as sons, daughters, or subordinates.

The reason why conquest is sociologically so much more significant than alliance is now apparent. Association for fighting does not mix the allied populations or oblige them to give up any of their clashing characteristics. At heart the allied groups are little modified. Subjugation, on the other hand, is likely to scramble the peoples, so that thenceforth separation is impossible. Moreover, it creates such new relations as master and slave, lord and villain, noble and commoner; substitutes positive law for custom; makes landed property an engine of exploitation, and gives birth to the centralized coercive state.

Force has immensely accelerated social integration. At present all mankind are embraced in not more than half a hundred sovereign group-units. Had the fraternal teachings of Buddha and Jesus, of Epictetus and St. Francis and George Fox been followed, such a stage of massing might not have been reached for thousands of years. The radiation and interchange of culture elements would in time have produced like-mindedness, which paves the way for the spontaneous fusion of social

groups; but, without waiting for this slow process to achieve results, empire-builders integrated men by violent methods. How different would be the grouping of human beings to-day if economic advantage rather than force had been the parent of societies! What woes would have been spared him if man had not early overcome his instinctive shrinking from combat with his kind and by the glorification and worship of dominion steeled himself to the wholesale taking of human life. Despising the gospel of peace, civilized man has hurried exultantly along the war path until now he finds himself holding a knife at his own throat. The next movement may sever his jugular!

KINDS OF SOCIETIES

Distinguishing according to the social bond—which depends not only upon the mode of origin of the society but also upon its stage of development—Giddings recognizes the following kinds of society:

1. There is a homogeneous community of blood-relatives, composed of individuals that from infancy have been exposed to a common environment and to like circumstances, and who, therefore, by heredity and experience are alike. Always conscious of themselves as kindred, their chief social bond is sympathy. The kind or type of society, therefore, that is represented by a group of kindred may be called the Sympathetic.

2. There is a community made up of like spirits, gathered perhaps from widely distant points, and perhaps originally strangers, but drawn together by their common response to a belief or dogma, or to an opportunity for pleasure or improvement. Such is the religious colony like the Mayflower band, or the Latter-Day Saints; such is the partisan political colony, like the Missouri and the New England settlements in Kansas; and such is the communistic brotherhood, like Icaria. Similarity of nature and agreement in ideas constitute the social bond, and the kind of society so created is therefore appropriately called the Congenial.

3. There is a community of miscellaneous and sometimes lawless elements, drawn together by economic opportunity—the frontier settlement, the cattle range, the mining camp. The newcomer enters this community an uninvited but unhindered probationer, and remains in it on sufferance. A general approbation of qualities and conduct is practically the only social bond. This type of society, therefore, I venture to call the Approbational.

The three types of society thus far named are simple, spontaneously formed groups. The first two are homogeneous, and are found usually in relatively isolated environments. The third is heterogeneous, and has a transitory existence where exceptional economic opportunities are discovered on the confines of established civilizations,

1. Sympathetic
2. Congenial
3. Approbational.

Societies of the remaining five types are in a measure artificial, in part created by reflection—by conscious planning. They are usually compound, products of conquest or of federation, and, with few if any exceptions, they are of heterogeneous composition. They are found in the relatively bountiful and differentiated environments.

4. A community of the fourth type consists of elements widely unequal in ability: the strong and the weak, the brave and the timorous, exploiters and the exploited—like enough conquerors and the conquered. The social bonds of this community are despotic power and a fear-inspired obedience. The social type is the Despotic.

5. In any community of the fifth type arbitrary power has been established long enough to have identified itself with tradition and religion. Accepted as divinely right, it has become authority. Reverence for authority is the social bond, and the social type is, therefore, the Authoritative.

6. Society of the sixth type arises in populations that, like the Italian cities at their worst estate, have suffered disintegration of a pre-existing social order. Unscrupulous adventurers come forward and create relations of personal allegiance by means of bribery, patronage, and preferment. Intrigue and conspiracy are the social bonds. The social type is the Conspiratorial.

7. Society of the seventh type is deliberately created by agreement. The utility of association has been perceived, and a compact of coöperation is entered into for the promotion of the general welfare. Such was the Achæan League. Such was the League of the Iroquois. Such was the confederation of American commonwealths in 1778. The social bond is a covenant or contract. The social type is the Contractual.

8. Society of the eighth type exists where a population collectively responds to certain great ideals, that, by united efforts, it strives to realize. Comprehension of mind by mind, confidence, fidelity, and an altruistic spirit of social service are the social bonds. The social type is the Idealistic.²

Giddings goes on to show³ that these types observed from early times have suggested to thinkers as many different theories of the nature of society. In tribal mythologies we find sympathy or natural brotherhood theories. The society of congenial spirits suggests the consciousness-of-kind theories voiced in the proverb, "Birds of a feather flock together," in the saying of Empedocles that "Like desires like," and in the word of Ecclesiasticus that "All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like." From approbational

² Giddings, "Descriptive and Historical Sociology," pp. 10-13.

³ *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. X, p. 169.

societies have come our natural-justice theories. From despotic societies have come theories that "might makes right" in the sense of creating law and order. From authoritative societies have come theories of the divine right of kings; from conspiratorial societies have come Machiavellian theories of the inevitableness of intrigue and conspiracy; and from societies long used to deliberate assemblies, to charters of liberty, and bills of rights have come the social-covenant or social-contract theories of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Distinguish between *primary association* and *secondary association*.
2. Show how a family develops into a tribe.
3. Where is congregation likely to occur?
4. Illustrate group-forming by voluntary mergence.
5. Show that forced union produces more social results than alliance.
6. Set forth two ways of holding down a conquered people.
7. State the social consequences of conquest.
8. Distinguish eight kinds of societies.
9. Show how these types suggest different theories as to the origin of society.

EXERCISES

43. What advantages, if any, are there in incorporating into a society the adjacent human groups?
44. If it is true that aggregation of groups is a cause of aggregation in others, why isn't it equally true that disintegration is a cause of disintegration in others?
45. Is the aggregation of human beings into larger and ever larger units chiefly a *willed* process or an unwilled process? *unwilled*.
46. What can be said on behalf of the integration of human groups (into larger groups) by violent methods, i.e., empire-building?
47. What can be said against it?
48. Do you want to see the League of Nations a league of peoples or a league of governments? Why?

CHAPTER IX

ASSOCIATION

HUMAN NATURE IN ISOLATION

BEFORE the days of the scientific study of human nature, romancers often imagined what a man would be like who had grown up without human association. In every case they portrayed a being with our faculties and reactions, although quite without culture. We know now that a child with only animals for nurses and companions would never develop the distinctively human traits. Its mentality would be arrested on a plane but little above that of an imbecile. The observations upon human beings of "wild" upbringing who at various times have been brought among civilized people show them to be characterized by a vegetative type of existence, automatic reactions, unconsciousness of self, inability to learn the use of language, absence of social emotions, and indifference to human companionship. Self-consciousness, the rise of personality, and the ordinary capacity for thought and emotion are impossible without the give-and-take of life in society.

About a century ago, from observing the mutual contamination of prison inmates, some were led to advocate the solitary confinement of prisoners. It was argued that in the silence of his cell the offender would come to see his misconduct in a new light and would resolve to change his ways. But the results of the policy showed how little the penologists understood the social side of human nature. In 1821, by act of the legislature of New York, eighty convicts in the Auburn prison were put into solitary cells without labor. At the end of a year five were dead, one had killed himself, another was mad, and the rest were melancholy. In 1842, in England, Pentonville prison began to confine the prisoner in solitude for the first eighteen months of his sentence. For the next eight years the insanity rate among Pentonville prisoners was ten times as great as in other English prisons.

Victims of long-enforced solitude generally become the prey of melancholia, delusions, and hallucinations. They cease to have emo-

tions, shrink from the sight of others, and perhaps return voluntarily to their cell as to a grateful shelter. Hermits, too, exhibit a variety of forms of mental disintegration. The biographies of the anchorite saints record strange noises and mysterious voices deemed supernatural, but which were really sense hallucinations in no wise different from those which visit to-day the isolated lighthouse keeper, or the lonely shepherd of the Sierras.

The struggles of the social self against death are pathetic. In cellular confinement prisoners devise many ingenious signals to convey sympathy. In Russian prisons the "politicals" developed a clever code of taps on walls or pipes as a means of communicating. In their mad thirst for companionship the immured make pets of mice, rats and birds, even spiders, ants and flies. Even a flower or a struggling plant may furnish support to the starving social self. Incurable prisoners have been softened and transformed by having small animals to pet or even a flower box to tend.

One of the early "finds" of child-study was that not a few children have imaginary companions with names and clearly marked traits, with whom they talk, play, quarrel, and make up. Sometimes the isolated child projects a number of imaginary playmates with distinct personalities, who have varied experiences, develop life-histories, and live on with their creator into adult life. One investigator brought to light fifty cases of children who have invented such companions. Akin to this is the practice of "talking to one's self" which grows up in hermits, trappers, prospectors, and other solitaires, and which seems due to the fact that the lonely soul finds a faint companionship in the sound of the voice just as the timid boy in the dark is heartened by hearing his own whistling.

GENIUS AND SOLITUDE

Terrible as is solitude, some souls prefer it to too much society. Men of genius turn recluse in order to create original works. In the words of Ruskin, "An artist should be fit for the best society and should keep out of it." Thoreau puts it: "The reason of isolation is not that we love to be alone, but that we love to soar; and when we soar the company grows thinner and thinner until there is none left." Even when they crave communion, geniuses are so bored by the chatter of commonplace persons that they prefer to be alone. In his *Letters* Wagner confesses: "I always feel it to be a useless and utterly resultless proceeding to converse with any one." "Nothing agrees with me

like solitude." Schopenhauer thought that "Who does not love solitude loves not freedom." Cicero writing to Atticus avers that, excepting the dear friend he is addressing, he loves nothing so well as solitude; while Thoreau thought one person to the square mile is enough and wrote, "I never found the companion who was so companionable as solitude."

Gifted men who are far above or ahead of their time are likely to be so neglected, misunderstood, or hawked at that in despair they turn misanthrope and hold aloof from their kind. The biographies of genius are full of tragedies of expansive souls, yearning for communion and sympathy, yet finding their offerings ignored or rejected, so that they end eating out their hearts in their loneliness. The world never forgives their being different.

SOCIETY AND SOLITUDE

There are two opposite types. The sociable man wants to join any crowd he happens to come upon. He is glad to be one of a great congregation, a procession, a regiment, enjoys moving in step or cheering in concert with a thousand others. If he possesses a weighty secret, it presses him to communicate it and if he curbs the impulse he falls mentally ill. The individualist, on the contrary, prefers the trackless wood to the beaten path, empty rooms to full ones, small congregations to large ones, wilderness to towns, fields to thoroughfares. Such was the American backwoods type who, when he could hear the sound of a neighbor's ax, said "Folks is gittin' too crowded," and moved on.

What is it the sociable man craves? The mere sight of others? No, "a crowd is not company." Not the presence of others but reciprocity of feeling relieves the ache in the breast. That one is dear who seems to care about us. One of the worst forms of college hazing is the "silent treatment," feigning that the obnoxious messmate does not exist. To the friendless newcomer the loneliness of the great city is hardly less cruel than that of the far hill farm. Hosts of acquaintances or admirers cannot still the thirst of the heart like a single friend. The high-placed executive, commandant, or employer may live as lonely as a castaway on a coral reef.

But our taste for society like our taste for salt is soon cloyed. Many find one good friend enough and few would get more satisfaction out of a hundred friends than out of a dozen. The value of companionship, like that of any necessary of life, falls rapidly as the

supply increases. Denizens of the backwoods or the desert are hospitable chiefly because there the wayfarer has a scarcity value. In the wilderness the lone prospector's delight in coming upon another human being is, one might almost say, as the square of the number of days since he saw a countenance.

THE STIMULUS FROM ASSOCIATION

"'Tis hard," says Emerson, "to mesmerize ourselves, to whip our own top; but through sympathy we are capable of energy and endurance. Concert fires people to a certain fury of performance they can rarely reach alone."

The maxim of the sage now rests on an experimental basis. Dr. Mayer of Wurzburg studied experimentally the difference between the mental work of pupils in a group and the isolated pupil. In general the result of the work of the pupils in groups was superior, the superiority showing not only in decrease of time but in the quality of the work. This result tallies with that of Schmidt, who, testing children in their home work as compared with their school work, found that for most kinds of work the product in the classroom was superior.

Dr. Triplett tested the influence of *the presence of a coworker* on a simple physical act, the turning of a reel as fast as possible. The pupil always worked more rapidly when in company with another child. Neumann corroborated the results of Triplett. Seven pupils of the ages of thirteen and fourteen were tested repeatedly with the dynamometer and the ergograph. In the case of the test of the pupils separately, with no one else in the room, the amount of work done was always less than when others were present. If the experiments were made in the presence of the teacher alone, the pupils did not do as much work as when they were all together without the teacher. Testing the memory of pupils alone and when working together, he found the difference remarkably large in the case of the younger children. On an average with the individual test the children remembered considerably less than in the class. Not a child was found who remembered more in the individual test than in the class test.

THE "ONLY" CHILD

Studies of "only" children show that instead of outstripping other children owing to their association with adults, they fall behind them. They not only enter school from one and a half to two years later, but they are markedly inferior to other children in school performance.

About half of the "only" children in school were reported as getting on badly with other children, usually because they were loath or did not know how to make concessions or were set on having their own way. In a fourth of the four hundred "only" children reported on selfishness was set down as the dominant trait. The "only" child is likely to be morbidly self-centered and introspective. "In later life," affirms a neurologist, "he is extremely conceited, jealous, and envious. He begrudges the happiness of friends and acquaintances, and he is therefore shunned and disliked. The fact that he is peculiarly subject to hysteria, neurasthenia, and kindred maladies is attributed to faulty habits of thought fixed in childhood, the chief of these being an excessive preoccupation with thoughts of self."

Without experience in a system of selves, the "only" child is easily teased, does not know how to stand being the butt of a joke, cannot bear to be "it" in a game in which "it" is the laughing-stock. Such children spend too much time reading and with grown-ups because they lack the art of adjustment. One says: "I was always disturbed by the prospect of going to a children's party . . . for the first half of the time I was certain to stand about on the edges of the crowd, merely because I could not get into the spirit of the merry gathering."

Childhood is the seedtime of character, for it is then that the subconscious is planted with suggestions which become nuclei for whole systems of thought which later ripen into habits. The suggestions the "only" child receives from too exclusive association with doting overanxious parents "tend to engender in him a mental attitude out of which may afterward spring, according to the subsequent circumstances of his life, a cold, heartless, calculating selfishness, or a morbid self-anxiety, perhaps eventuating in all sorts of neurotic symptoms." On the other hand, plenty of team games with children of about his own age fix in his subconsciousness suggestions of "fair play," "give-and-take," "turn about," "follow," "lead," "obey," and "true blue," which help to build in time the "good fellow" and the "good citizen."

SOLIDARITY AND SUICIDE

Study of the statistics of suicide reveals a strange saving power in the bonds by which the individual is knit with others into a group. The suicide rate of bachelors is half as great again as that of married men of the same average age *without* children and three times that of married men *with* children. The rate for widowers *without* children

is a third greater than for widowers *with* children. Thus, family life in a measure protects against self-murder because it shifts the focus of the individual's interest from his personal experiences and fate to that of the family group. His attitude toward his life is determined less by what it is worth to him than by what it is worth to his children; and so he may go on with it when otherwise he would cast it away as not worth keeping.

It is significant that Protestants suicide more than Roman Catholics. In Switzerland the suicides in Protestant, mixed, and Catholic cantons are respectively 326, 212, and 86 per 100,000 persons. The Jews show a lower rate than even the Catholics. The reason is not in any difference in the teaching as to the sinfulness of suicide, but in the fact that the Catholics are more firmly knit into a religious community than the Protestants, while the solidarity among Jews usually exceeds that among Catholics.

Again, suicide is rare in young, vital, strongly organized societies but frequent in decaying, disintegrating societies. Wars and revolutions, by stimulating group solidarity, cut down the suicide rate. Hence Durkheim's law, *Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups to which the individual belongs*. Men are like mountain climbers, some making their way over the glaciers roped to the members of a large party, others going alone and depending on eye and alpenstock. The latter mount more quickly and can go farther if they are strong. But woe to them if the crust breaks!

SOCIAL SYMPATHY

In the suicide clinics which have been maintained in certain American cities, it appears that persons contemplating suicide are more in need of sympathy than of succor. The mere confessing their troubles to a sympathetic stranger instead of brooding over them alone gives them relief and renewed courage to battle on.

Sympathetic association has, indeed, an almost magical value. After the San Francisco fire families that had lost all and were camped in the parks were by no means downhearted. The secret was that the universal sympathy and helpfulness were meat and drink to the starved social self. The sudden fellowship that springs up in hours of disaster—like the sinking of the *Titanic*—is found so sweet that the survivors form an association and meet annually in order to revive it. Just as the loveliest flowers grow nearest the toe of the glacier, so the sweetest intimacies spring up among those sharing the most terrible experiences.

In war "comrade" becomes a sacred word, and the bonds uniting trench-mates and messmates often last through life. So comforting is this perfect fellowship that soldiers will jest amid horrors that would drive a solitary man out of his wits. The journals of Polar expeditions bear witness to the cheerfulness of the men during the long Arctic night. With companionship but without sunshine they were far happier than the mountain shepherds who have sunshine but lack companionship.

The we-feeling depends on certain favoring circumstances. One is crisis, which breaches conventional barriers and gives free play to the social instincts of deeply moved persons. Another is harmony of interests. In the trenches, the exploring party, the strikers' colony, one loses that habit of eyeing the fellow-man as an actual or potential competitor which grows up in a society like ours characterized by pecuniary emulation. Conversation brings to light mental differences as well as resemblances, but, on the whole, no doubt, it gives birth to more sympathies than antipathies. Pleasuring together favors the spread of the we-feeling. Eating, drinking, acting, playing together, the enjoying in common of music, drama, or spectacles are time-honored means of fostering good-fellowship. Concerted rhythmic response is especially powerful in creating social sympathy. Cheering, singing, and stamping together are used to evoke "college spirit," and the choral singing of patriotic hymns is encouraged among soldiers to fan their *esprit de corps*. From early tribal days the dance has been used to unlock social emotion, and those attempting to create a community spirit in our polyglot American cities get people to sing in immense choruses and take part in great public dances in the streets and parks.

THE TARDY RECOGNITION OF OUR SOCIABLE NATURE

Most of us marvel that any one should go mad in solitude or kill himself from lack of sympathy, or that a girl should smother her infant rather than face shame. Poets and romancers make much of such things, but, the current theory of human nature is quite too narrow to take account of them. Psychology early took an individualistic slant from its probing of the senses and the intellect and only lately has it plumbed the *instincts* and *emotions*—man's social side; while philosophy, jealous for the "dignity" of human nature, has ignored our social needs as if they disclosed a shameful weakness.

Blindness to the social demands of human nature has shown itself in a great variety of ways. Prison reformers fancied that solitary

confinement regenerates. Quite unconscious of their cruelty, the benevolent tolerated the almshouse with its separation of aged couples and its walling off of paupers from the common life. That what the poor most need is "not alms but a friend" gave thirty years ago the shock of a great discovery. The social settlement, founded in the conviction that nothing will help the slum like sympathy, good fellowship, and inspiring personal influence, has been in existence but thirty-five years, yet has succeeded so well that it is being generalized the country over as the "social center." Still nearer is the beginning of the scientific study of the social relations of boys, resulting in the discovery of the "gang" and of the "boys' club" as a means of building character.

Individualistic assumptions so governed early Americans that, giving up the compact settlement of the New England town, they practised "homestead" settlement, which few European peoples have found to be congenial. One result of this and of the neglect to provide for social and recreative life in the open country is a loneliness which so tortures young people on the farms that they rush to the cities with a recklessness hardly to be matched in any other part of the world.

There are still various false notions which stand in the way of our doing justice to our social cravings. Common yet is the idea that religion is something altogether between man and his Maker and does not relate man to man. Another pitfall is the notion that the chief end of sport is physical development rather than the enjoyment of fellowship in play. "Scientific management" extremists see the workman as a mere machine, while some devotees of the efficiency cult drop every human relation and reject every claim that does not contribute to "success." A caricature of Darwinism, invented to justify the ruthless practices of business men, insists that struggle is the law of life, and that one's only option is to devour the fellow-man or be eaten by him.

Then there are bad social tendencies. The growth of tenancy under a form of lease which allows the tenant no compensation for disturbance or for the unexhausted fertility he has added to the soil results in a shifting rural population unwilling to invest in the roads, schools, churches, playgrounds, and community halls which facilitate social enjoyment. The commercial spirit, which prompts people to associate on the basis of reciprocal entertainment and service, taints fellowship with calculation and inhibits that generous self-abandon which is the finest flower of friendship.

THE STRUGGLE OF PERSONALITIES IN ASSOCIATION

Much social life is a veiled struggle to expand one's personality at another's expense. One ego eats another. Children, whose natures lie near the surface, plainly strive to convert their playfellows into an admiring circle, to use them to intensify their feelings of self. They keenly compete for notice from companions or superiors. Boys swagger about, talk in unnatural tones, "play big," and "show off." They do "stunts" eagerly shouting "Looky" as they stand on their heads or hang by their toes. They thrill with superiority as they stalk about on stilts or on tin cans tied to their feet. They vie in boasting, "daring," playing the "smart Aleck," and making up tall stories of their wonderful feats or hairbreadth escapes. It is significant that the bragging lies of boys usually relate to what they can do, while girls are more apt to lie about their possessions.

Dr. Bolton says:

The use of secrets by children is full of interest. Small boys put their arms around one another's necks and whisper in the ear, pretending to tell something that the others shall not know. This exalts the selves of those that hear the secrets and at the same time shrinks up the onlooker and flushes him with envy. Such an act calls for a countermove in the same direction. The other boys get together and tell secrets among themselves and make extravagant claims that their secrets are much more worthy of knowing. Young people of the lower classes of society who associate much together give up a large part of their conversation to noisy claims about secrets or what they know that some one else does not; they make veiled references to past good times and to other times in which things transpired that would be a terrible humiliation if told. Each one tries to get a secret with every other and then to make noisy claims about keeping it from all the rest. Servant girls with their company at the back door indulge in this kind of conversation, making veiled references to secrets most of the time. With them social life is always a sharp contest among personalities in which severe thrusts are given and countered just as severely.

To the same end young people invent "dog-Latin" and other lingo. They are prized less as a vehicle for secrets than as a means of triumphing over the puzzled listener.

Many of the games of childhood, such as "Needle's Eye," "Drop the Handkerchief," and "Virginia Reel," owe their charm to their giving each in turn a chance to be chief actor. In the flushed cheeks

and glistening eyes of the child that is "it," one remarks the intoxication resulting from feeling the "I" glorified. The rest find their compensation in the pleasure of marching, dancing, or singing in concert.

To shrink or put down the selves of others gives much the same satisfaction as to exalt one's own self. In the teasing, badgering, and hectoring of small children, red-haired girls, hare-lipped boys, peddlers, outlanders, and Chinamen, the object is not always the infliction of pain; it may be the exalting one's self-importance by depreciating another. The delight of "taking down" one who is throwing us into the shade is very evident. Schoolboys on the playground "take it out" of "teacher's pet," bespatter the best-dressed child, and pursue the prize pupil chanting some incantation rhyme built about his name. Girls try to take down the girl all the boys are fond of and the uncouth lads join to humiliate the boy that the girls favor. In the same way young men who are boon companions are on the watch to "get something" on one of their number. Playing tricks and "practical" jokes is a favorite means of "getting the laugh on" another, i.e., shrinking him. Hazing and fagging pleasantly enliven the self-feeling of older schoolboys. The ordeals of initiation imposed by some fraternal orders give the lodge members the pleasure of making a worthy fellow-citizen a laughing-stock, while the victim later salves his wounded pride in watching other initiates "ride the goat."

Then there are the tactics of *self-protection* designed to prevent or turn aside a thrust at one's self, and the tactics of *self-recovery* aiming to expand the self after a humiliating experience. Thus the savage, who mainly identifies his personality with his name, is careful to keep secret his true name. There is the same caution about one's image. Once I tried in vain to find a Bedouin who would let himself be sketched; each feared lest in some mysterious way I should gain a hold on him. Nature peoples have a like horror of being photographed.

For fear of a rebuff one refrains from the direct question, but "supposes," or "wonders," queries to the ceiling, or ends a statement with a rising inflection. An invitation is couched in the negative statement: "You would n't care to . . . ?" or is conveyed by a lifting of the eyebrow or a pointing of the thumb. A request takes the form of a hint. One answers an embarrassing question with a shrug or a grimace which, while expressing enough, cannot be quoted. Refusal is met with "I don't care," or "Like as not I'm better off without it." Repartee parries gibe and innuendo is turned by irony.

EGOISTIC ASSOCIATION

Braggarts must have listeners, skinflints will have their cronies. The self-conceited by no means resign themselves to solitude. The utterly selfish mental invalid may be an utter cormorant for sympathy. In such cases the individual foregathers with others not from love but to gain a sounding-board for his "I," to exalt his own self by bringing under or exploiting other selves. Many egoists of the purest water are on the constant lookout for sympathizers, admirers, or satellites. In a pinch such vampires can find satisfaction even in one another, for each endures the plaint or brag of the others for the sake of having attention when his turn comes to blow the trumpet.

Egoistic society apes the manners and amenities of good-will association, but its hollowness shows in a variety of ways. Under velvet endearments women stretch their claws and scratch like cats. Stingy beldames calculate it costs less to attract company by spiced gossip than by spiced refreshments. Roistering egoists watch that no one skips his turn to stand treat. Cronies who are not good fellows show their yellowness when one of them falls into trouble. Then he is given to understand that no one cares to see his long face or listen to his tale of woe. For such fair-weather friendship the refrain is, "If you're out of health or money you need n't come around."

MANNERS

It is the rôle of good manners to sweeten social intercourse by toning down or refining the struggle among the "I's." The well-bred refrain from such irritants as conspicuousness in dress, loudness of speech, boasting, self-display, monopoly of the conversation, controversy, rudeness, the humiliating of others. The best manners constantly subordinate the claims of self to the claims of the selves of others. When all in a circle act up to this standard, association becomes delightful, provided that real congeniality exists. In the best circles of our South the harmonization of the demands of different egos has become a fine art. The way in which a well-bred Southerner will let the conversation take any direction you seem to wish, always playing up to your lead and suppressing his own preference, reveals the secret of the oft-noted "charm" of southern society. In eighteenth-century France the higher social class developed manners of a suavity before unknown and the spread of these over the world has put many peoples in debt to the French.

The percolation down among the people of the manners wrought out in a leisure class is a very important step in socialization. Politeness is, to be sure, a poor substitute for good-will and respect for the rights of others, but where these traits do not yet exist it is most valuable. Its function is not to sweeten the relation of kinsfolk, friends, or lodge-brothers, but to lessen the chafing between strangers, colleagues, or rivals. Wherever, as in South America, good manners have become the heritage of all classes, even *peons*, muleteers, and deck-hands, the contacts of men give rise to few quarrels and brawls.

THE MIRRORED SELF

Professor Cooley says:

The child appropriates the visible actions of his parent or nurse, over which he finds he has some control, in quite the same way as he appropriates one of his own members or a plaything, and he will try to do things with this new possession, just as he does with his hand or his rattle. A girl six months old will attempt in the most evident and deliberate manner to attract attention to herself, to set going by her actions some of those movements of other persons that she has appropriated.

The human looking-glass in which the infant sees its little "I" reflected furnishes it a powerful stimulus to do things. Children brought up in foundling asylums, where they receive good physical care but not loving personal attention, learn to walk and to speak much later than those whose baby efforts call forth the encouraging "ohs" and "ahs" of an admiring family, whose sympathy baby soon learns to claim as his right.

Strong joy and grief depend upon the treatment this rudimentary social self receives. In the case of M., I noticed as early as the fourth month a "hurt" way of crying which seemed to indicate a sense of personal slight. . . . The slightest tone of reproof would produce it. On the other hand, if people took notice and laughed and encouraged, she was hilarious. At about fifteen months old, she had become "a perfect little actress," seeming to live largely in imaginations of her effect upon other people. She constantly and obviously laid traps for attention and looked abashed or wept at any signs of disapproval or indifference. . . . If she hit upon any little trick that made people laugh, she would be sure to repeat it. . . . She had quite a repertory of these small performances, which she would display to a sympathetic audience or even try upon strangers.

No one ignores his mirrored self, but people differ greatly in sensitiveness. The wise man schools himself to be content with the approval of the discerning. The strong man cares only for the handclap of his

peers and will not be looking every minute for fear his social image has changed. Those born in the purple give themselves little concern as to what the commonalty think of them. We perceive Haman was an upstart when we read: "But when Haman saw Mordecai in the King's gate, that he stood not up nor moved for him, he was full of indignation against Mordecai." After telling over his honors, he adds: "Yet all this availeth nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's gate."

A man may think he turns on his own axis, but "if failure or disgrace arrives, if he suddenly finds that the faces of men show coldness or contempt instead of the kindness and deference that he is used to, he will perceive from the shock, the fear, the sense of being outcast and helpless, that he was living in the minds of others without knowing it, just as we daily walk the solid ground without thinking how it bears us up."

One we call "independent" or "self-sufficient" is not outside society nor dispensing altogether with social approval. He may be a massive deep-draft character that from past approval has gained enough headway not to be stalled in the slack water of indifference, nor caught in an eddy of blame. He may be a discriminating person who smiles at the catcalls of the multitude provided only the wise appreciate him. He may be serene when all men revile him because in his imagination he sees himself triumphantly justified before some high tribunal of the worthies of the past or of the *élite* of the generations to come. This is why faith in God is so bracing to the disinterested champion of an unpopular cause. Imagined divine approval enables him to hold his course amid general opposition and obloquy.

In a light-draft mind preoccupation with one's reflected self shows itself as *vanity*. The vain man, unlike the constructive and stable sort, cannot hold steadily to an idea of his worth. He cannot fix past social approval as a durable part of his thought of himself, cannot get the habit of taking his merits for granted. Hence his self-feeling is subject to great ups and downs. Let people show admiration or envy of him and he treads on air; but in a trice some slight or rebuff has cast him into the depths. He cannot keep up his self-confidence with the huzzas of last year or even last month; he needs his praise fresh. Hence, the vain man who happens to be rich or powerful or influential is an easy mark for sycophants and toadies, for he swallows gratefully the flattery that buoys his soul in hours of self-distrust. One who skilfully feeds the vain man his needed ration of "taffy" makes himself indispensable.

To pant for recognition is the essence of *ambition*. The ambitious youth thinks he thirsts to "do something" or to "be somebody," but his thirst would not be slaked by a success nobody noticed or acknowledged. Really what he craves is to figure potently in the minds of others, to be greatly loved, admired, or feared. The mere *notoriety-seeker* is less nice and hankers to be read about or talked about even if the self reflected is far from impressive.

Less dependent than the ambitious is the *power-seeker* who slakes his thirst for self-effectuation by molding the destinies of others but cares nothing for recognition by them. The retiring financier or unofficial Warwick, who secretly pulls the wires that make politicians dance, finds his pleasure in seeing the puppets obey his will. Beyond him is the *achiever*, careless whether the public he benefits ever learns of his existence; but even *he* needs an inner circle who understand and appreciate his achievement.

Uncurbed, the passion to fix and greaten one's social image leads to such evils as pomp, ostentation, fashion, heart-burning, jealousy, and fawning. The mania to impress others may prompt to the worst forms of anti-social conduct—as when a king makes war for "glory" or a proprietor squeezes his tenants in order to make a splurge on the boulevards or a splash at Monte Carlo. The scheming social climber sacrificing old friends in the hope of ultimate recognition by people of high position is about as social as a lizard; others interest her only as looking-glasses to reflect a pleasing image of herself. In the evil trinity religion bids us renounce, "the world, the flesh, and the devil," the "world" stands for the faults that spring from solicitude for one's social image, such as worldly ambition, affectation, vanity, vainglory, boastfulness, and arrogance.

The mirrored self is a poor thing to stake one's happiness on. Like one's image in a still pool one's pleasing reflection in the minds of others may vanish with a breath. Ambition, to be sure, may lift the sluggard from his bed, the clod from his rut, the sensualist from his sty; but it overstimulates the mettlesome while the sensitive fret themselves ill over their standing in the eyes of others. That is why "withdrawal from the world" has always found favor among some choice spirits. The woods, the sea, or the cell afford asylum from the sharp suggestions that prick the flanks of ambition. One wearied of perpetually scoring to keep his prestige alive, his credit from being smirched by jealous rivals, longs to quit the "world," at least for a season.

A finer remedy is to quit the game without withdrawing from that common life which is, after all, the place for most of the work that is to better the world. Thus Thomas à Kempis exhorts:

Son, now I will teach thee the way of peace and of true liberty. . . . Study to do another's will rather than thine own. Choose ever to have less rather than more. Seek ever the lower place and be subject to all; ever wish and pray that the will of God may be perfectly done in thee and in all. Behold such a man enters the bounds of peace and calm.

SEX ASPECTS OF THE MIRRORED SELF

Being less aggressive in their make-up, women as a rule are more dependent than men on their immediate social image. They are more sensitive to present attitudes, cannot live so well on hoarded corroboration, and slow down sooner when opinion sets against them. How much gifted women will accomplish depends quite as much on the measure of encouragement they receive as on the degree of freedom they enjoy.

While boys are taken up with what they are doing, girls live much in their imagination of how they appear to others. They blush more readily; until the arrival of adolescence they are more bashful than boys, and their clothes consciousness is more acute. It is no such task to get a girl in her early teens to keep herself presentable as to get a boy to do so. The girl catches subtle shades in the personal attitude of others which the boy misses, is more subject to affectation, falls more readily into acting rôles, will make greater sacrifices to convention, and lives more in terror of being "talked about." Women have too much divination to fall into certain egotistic attitudes common to men. Thus women are rarely pompous, and no one ever saw a woman strut.

HOW SOCIETY RECOGNIZES THE MIRRORED SELF

Damages for libel allow for the "mental anguish" of being brought into public contempt; for breach of promise to marry take into account the mortification of the jilted. Although the duel has been outlawed, insult not only goes a long way toward excusing violence but more and more it affords a ground of legal action, the German courts having gone furthest in this direction. It is contended that peaceful picketing does not exist, seeing that the pickets' tongue-lashing of the "scab" is a weapon of intimidation. The designating of workmen by numbers instead of their names is held to be intolerable. Many old punishments—such as stocks, pillory, cucking-stool, scarlet letter—assumed social sensitiveness in the culprit. Like tar-and-feathers, whipping at the

cart's tail, hurt spirit more than body, and ears were cropped not so much to pain the offender as to make him a butt. Malicious prison keepers "break" the more sensitive prisoners with indignities rather than hardships, while shrewd wardens offer the removal of stripes and numbers as an inducement to good conduct.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Set forth the mental characteristics of "wild" children.
2. Why is solitary confinement regarded as cruel?
3. Show the significance of "imaginary companions."
4. Why has genius so often turned recluse?
5. Illustrate the stimulus from association.
6. Describe the traits of the "only" child.
7. Fix the relation between suicide and solidarity.
8. What experiences evoke the *we*-feeling?
9. Show the struggle of personalities in association.
10. What is the social function of manners?
11. Show our dependence on the "mirrored self."

EXERCISES

49. What can you cite from your personal observation or experience illustrating the stimulus from association?
50. Is there any difference between young men and young women in their response to the fellowship appeal (compare Y. W. C. A. with Y. M. C. A.)?
51. Comment upon the *mot*, "The friendship of two women is a conspiracy against a third."
52. Illustrate from your own experience or observation the comfort and encouragement resulting from social sympathy.
53. Is Emerson right when he says: "The condition which high friendship demands is ability to do without it"?
54. Do you agree with Emerson that "Good manners are made up of petty sacrifices"?
55. Is Pope right in saying:
 "What the weak head with strongest bias rules,
 Is pride, the never-failing vice of fools"?
56. Why does La Rochefoucauld say: "What makes the vanity of others unbearable to us is that it wounds our own"?
57. Give from your observation additional instances of the struggle of personalities in association.
58. What additional illustrations rise in your mind as you read the passage about the "mirrored self"?
59. Why are the wives of successful men more often snobbish than their husbands?

Effective leadership is desirable.
This type of domination exhibited by
Lincoln & Grant.

indispensable. Society differs with
type of domination.

Intellectual & moral leadership.

Type of dom. depends on character of people.

CHAPTER X

DOMINATION

NO social phenomenon is more general, persistent, or recurrent than domination. Not only has each group brought under adjacent groups so far as it could or dared, but each element within the group subjects other elements to its will so far as it can.

The chief types of domination are:

1. *Parents over offspring.* Whenever by means of positive institutions or ethical and religious ideas parents have been able to retain their grown children subject to their will, they have done so. The *pastoral life* fosters patriarchal authority because (1) in quest of fresh pasture the family with its herds wanders away from the tribe and hence, for the sake of safety, it must become a compact unit under one-man direction; (2) there is economy in guarding and caring for the live stock of grown sons in a single herd rather than in several small herds. However, China shows that *agriculture* may go with parent domination. Thanks to stressing filial piety as a virtue, Chinese parents as a rule enjoy more authority and consideration than do parents in the West. Marriage, of course, draws their daughters into another family, but they count on the earnings of their sons to keep them in their declining years. A couple look upon their sons as their old-age pension. I recall a Foochow teacher forty years of age, with a family, who turned over his monthly salary check to his father as a matter of common duty. Hence, in China the parents of many sons are envied, while a boy baby is never drowned or sold, as a girl baby may be.

Perhaps this explains why there are more smooth brows, calm eyes, and carefree faces among old men in China than among old men in America. Too often among us old age is clouded by the depressing sense of being shelved or being a burden. Chinese ethics gives the parent more claims and lays upon the grown sons more duties than ours. Coming on the up-curve of life, the duties are easy to bear, while, coming on the down-curve, the corresponding rights are a real solace. In a word, the added happiness to the old folks far outweighs the inconvenience to the sons.

2. *Old over young.* Among many savage and barbarous tribes the elders gain a control over the young by maintaining secret male societies to which the young are admitted by stages marked by awe-inspiring ceremonies. By this leverage numerous food taboos are imposed in the interest of the old men. In one tribe boys will be told that if they eat of forbidden food they will be struck by lightning. In another young men who eat the flesh or eggs of the emu believe that sores will appear all over the body. It is common to subject the young to a novitiate during which they turn over to the old the choicest kinds of food they find. Furthermore, the old men monopolize the pretty girls while the only mate a young man can find is an old widow or a cast-off hag.

Amongst ourselves we see the Elders trying to hold the Young down and keep in their own hands the control of social machinery. The Old appeal to "reason," "experience," "record," "distinguished services," "safe and sane," while the Young charge their intrenchments crying "old fogysm," "new blood," "Inject ginger and energy," "Give others a chance." In clubs, churches fraternal orders, joint stock companies, political parties, professional and commercial organizations, legislative bodies, and government boards we see struggles over the control by the "old crowd."

3. *Husband over wife.* Under the early maternal system of reckoning kinship the wife remained among her kinsfolk so that her offspring should belong to her clan. The husband being an outsider was in a weak position. Unless he "made good" as provider of animal food for his wife's family he might be told to leave. Wife domination, however, is a rare and passing phenomenon. Wife purchase and wife capture, as well as the enforced separation of the family from the wife's clan, gave the husband the upper hand, which he has kept. Generally law and custom have merged the wife's property with his, given him control of her earnings, her occupation, and her place of residence, denied her freedom of contract, made him responsible for and therefore master over her conduct, tolerated in him more sex liberty than she might claim, and given him control over the children.

4. *Men over women.* In old Japan the woman's lot was summed up in the "three obediences," viz., unmarried, to the father; married, to the husband; widowed, to a son. In China woman's lot is in no wise of her own fashioning, but has been shaped by male tastes without the least regard to what the women themselves think about it. The ancient sages—all men—molded the institutions which bear on woman and it is

male comment, not real public opinion, that enforces the conventionalities which crush her. By wit, will, or worth the individual woman may slip from under the thumb of the individual man, but never is the sex free from the collective domination of the male sex. The men have all the artillery—the time-hallowed institutions—and all the small arms—current opinion and comment. It is not so much that the individual man selfishly rules the woman or even that one sex has deliberately brought the other into subjection. Perfectly certain of their own superiority in wisdom and virtue, men have settled what is fit and proper not only for themselves, but also for woman.

I once held a conversation with a Chinese gentleman who was promoting a revival of Confucianism. "You'll admit," I remarked, "that we Occidentals have juster ideas as to the treatment of women."

"Not at all," he replied. "The place Confucianism assigns to women is more reasonable than that of the Christian West."

"But why should women be so subordinated?"

"Because women are very hard to control. You can never tell what they will be up to. At the bottom of every trouble there is a woman." ?

"Is n't that due to your depriving women of the educational opportunities which they once enjoyed?"

"No, it was precisely experience of the difficulty of keeping women under control when they are educated that led our forefathers to lessen their schooling."

"Then you would shut girls out of school?"

"No, I would n't go as far as that. Let them be taught to read and write."

"Nothing more?"

"Possibly. But it should be very different from the education given to boys."

"For example?"

"Why, teach the girl household arts and ethics so she will know her duties as daughter, wife, and mother."

"Would you teach her her rights as well as her duties?"

"No, no. That is quite unnecessary."

In ancient India girls chose their husbands; to-day, not only are girls disposed of by their parents, but they are married so young that in British India alone there are nearly ten million wives under sixteen years of age, of whom a third of a million are widows! Child marriage is said to cause one-fourth of the women to die prematurely while another fourth are made invalids for life.

The prohibition of remarriage, which bears with senseless cruelty upon some hundreds of thousands of child widows who have not even entered on sex life, reflects male egoism, which cannot endure that the female who has lost her mate should form another union. The custom which obtained in India and China until suppressed by law, that the widow should be consumed on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, likewise sprang from the jealousy of males. The Moslem veil is another sign of the man's craving for female sacrifice. In our own society the "double standard" of sex morality, the insistence that woman shall stay in her "sphere," the resistance to the entrance of woman into the professions, the obligation of the wronged wife to suffer more and pardon more than the wronged husband, the greater obligation of women to "please" men than of men to "please" women, savor of male domination.

5. *The fighting portion of society over the industrial portion.* In the agricultural stage a tribe tells off its best men to train themselves in arms, while the women and the less capable males feed and provide for them. While this is prompted by concern for the general security, the balance between the fighting class and the industrial class cannot be preserved, for the warriors are able to turn against the cultivators the very weapons and skill intended for the enemies of the tribe. Hence, the warriors make themselves masters of society. During the European Dark Ages *scholæ*, or brotherhoods of fighters, wandered about offering their arms and their knowledge of warfare for the protection of harassed settled populations. It was only too common, however, that a community which had engaged one of these bands and agreed to feed it in return for protection became gradually the serfs of these defenders.

In old Japan the military class—nobles and *samurai*—comprising 4 or 5 per cent. of the people, absolutely dominated the rest. They went always armed and the slightest offense by one of the swordless was paid for with a stroke. The peasant might be cut down by passing swordsmen for no other purpose than to test the edge of a new blade. The elaborate politeness of the Japanese comes from the time when an obsequious manner was a matter of life or death.

6. *The well-situated over the ill-situated.* In central Arabia the numerous oases are divided from one another by stretches of waterless steppe. The steppe men are therefore masters of the situation and the *fellahin* of the oases have to submit to their assumption of greater nobility and accept the rule of a Bedouin sheikly family which leads its life between a fortress in the oasis and the black tents of the deser

From such families spring the sultans or emirs who, owing to their ability to combine oasis with oasis by virtue of their command of the intervening tracts, gather a treasure sufficient to attract and maintain a standing force which may bring under other Bedouins and more distant oases.

7. *The strongest among allies over the rest.* In the course of the Greek resistance to Persia, Athens became the head of a maritime confederation of city states. Gradually, however, owing to the great lead of Athens in ship building and seafaring, the Athenians came to provide and man the common fleet. Athens began then to dictate the money contribution of each of the allies and presently the confederation became an Athenian military empire in which the former allies became subjects, then victims of exploitation, and finally revoltors. In like manner the numerous peoples with which the Romans in their expansion made alliance passed gradually into the position, first of dependents, and then of subjects. The history of the relations between Great Britain and the native states of India illustrates afresh how inevitably alliance between unequals passes insensibly into a relation of domination.

8. *Conquerors over conquered.* Domination of this kind is the commonest thing in history. In the smiling parts of the earth wave upon wave of wild spearmen has rolled over the settled peoples—in Mesopotamia, Babylonians, Amorites, Assyrians, Arabs, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Parthians, Mongols, Seljuks, Tartars, Turks; on the Nile, Hyksos, Nubians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks; in Italy, Romans, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Franks, Germans. The great cities of the ancient world were by no means founded on commerce and manufactures, as are our great modern cities, but were the fortified seats of tribute-takers, fortresses holding in awe a subject tribute-giving agricultural population. The nucleus of such a city was the court—the monarch together with the warriors, priests, nobles, officials, and courtiers, who consumed tribute and held down the tribute-payers.

The earlier empires took tribute and troops from their subjects. No ancient monarch, except, perhaps, some of the Ptolemies, aimed to benefit their subjects generally. Found, however, to be comparatively unproductive, the rapacious type of domination gives way to a more considerate policy which aims to stimulate the subjugated by leaving them some freedom and hope. Rome had large views. She aimed to give the conquered good administration and even under the Republic attempts were made to check abuses by provincial governors like Verres.

With the establishment of the Empire administration greatly improved. The Emperor felt more responsibility for the welfare of the provinces than the sordid Senate had ever felt.

A like development occurred in the domination of the British over India. The memorable trial of Warren Hastings so fixed the attention of the English nation upon the administering of India as to secure for wholesome principles of conduct a recognition which was never after forgotten. Since India came under the Crown in 1858 the British domination has taken into account the *welfare* although not (until lately) the *will* of the subjects.

9. *The masters of the State over the subjects of the State.* Only in highly democratic societies like Switzerland, Kansas, and New Zealand is government really an instrument for promoting the general welfare. Elsewhere it is a means of domination either by the actual holders of office (rulers or bureaucracy), or by a class whose creatures and servants they are.

For example, although the governments of South America are republican, the needs of the common people receive from them but scant consideration. The hand workers do not understand their true interests and have therefore slight political importance. The large proprietors use their control of government for their own advantage. In tropical South America the capture of the proceeds of taxation is a splendid get-rich-quick enterprise appealing strongly to the *conquistador* imagination. Government is a mode of acquisition sufficiently predatory, profitable, and perilous to appeal to the taste of the born gentleman. There is nothing in politics for the common people save the excitement of participating in a dangerous sport.

MEANS OF DOMINATION

The means of maintaining ascendancy constitute a graduated scale reaching from pure coercion to something like partnership.

1. *Physical force.* Assyrians, Huns, Goths, Tartars, Mongols, Moguls, Manchus, Mahdists, and Turks have ruled by the naked sword. In certain contemporary states of tropical America government is sustained by soldiers and by little else.

2. *Political inequalities originating in the exercise of force.* Under the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns the cards were very skilfully stacked against the dominated peoples and classes. By property qualifications for the suffrage, by unequal representation of tax-paying classes, by special political privileges accorded to dominant races or nationalities

and to the propertied classes, and by political discrimination against subject races or nationalities and against toilers, governments were constituted which would respond to the will of dominant elements rather than to public opinion.

3. *Corruption.* For cash or other immediate personal advantage poor and ignorant voters will often turn over their votes to the party of the very element which oppresses and exploits them. At times, in some of our commonwealths, a party representing only selfish interests has been able to keep itself in power by the aid of votes purchased with money or favors. The naturalized foreign-born have been very susceptible to timely attentions and kindnesses shown them during their early difficult years in this country and hence social work on a large scale originated with Tammany Hall in New York and kindred political organizations. In Chile, despite a democratic suffrage, the large landed proprietors preserve their control of the state by systematic corruption. The democratic or workingmen's party makes no small noise in the campaign, but on election day many who have shouted, paraded, and worked for it sell their votes to the Conservatives for the wages of a week's work. Small wonder that the Chilean Congress doggedly refuses to enact a corrupt practices act!

4. *Patronage.* The English in India and the Dutch in the Far East have dominated the natives largely by recognizing and patronizing the native princes and sultans. The potentate retains his title and dignities, has his former income assured him, and is made secure on his throne by European machine-guns. In return he becomes a puppet of the European resident adviser, who is often known as the "Elder Brother" of the native sultan or regent, and has the elder brother's privilege of giving advice which the younger brother is expected to follow.

In eighteenth-century England George III built up in Parliament by the lavish distribution of offices, sinecures, and pensions a party known as "the King's Friends," which could be relied on to stand by the king's ministry through thick and thin. The system, of course, could not have been maintained without a large number of "rotten boroughs," whose representatives in Parliament had no constituents to answer to. When organized labor began to be a force in the United States it was long kept politically null by the device of giving certain Federal offices to its leaders. By this cheap device the labor vote was held.

5. *The political use of spiritual power.* The early sultans at Constantinople contrived to turn the Eastern Church into an instrument of Turkish dominion. The lower clergy, throughout the Christian

lands conquered by the Turk, generally remained patriotic leaders, but the bishops and other higher clergy became tools of the Turk. Greek bishops ruled Slavonic churches and so formed another fetter in the chain by which the conquered were held down.

In a Briton's description of a Greek archbishop in Cyprus we see what arrows fill the ecclesiastical quiver:

Geronymo held many weapons in his hands. First, as head of the church, he was the chief owner of land in this island, and could therefore raise the rent on hundreds of farms at any moment and on any pretext. Second, as head of the church, he was the biggest trader in the island, and could therefore raise the price of articles in the bazaars of every market-town. Third, as head of the church, he was one of the chief exporters of wine, salt, and brandy, and could therefore easily derange the shipping trade and annoy the ports. These temporal means of mischief could be strengthened and inflamed by spiritual allies. He could stop the Sacrament and suspend the rites of marriage and sepulture. He could shut up church and cloister, put the altars under mourning, and deny a suffering people all the solaces of religion, from the act of baptism to the final offices of grace.

It is scarcely necessary to recall how characteristic has been alliance between throne and altar during the struggle of the European peoples against absolutism, how centralized churches have preached the Divine Right of kings, urged unquestioning obedience to constituted authorities as God's will, and opened their bosoms to the greatest dynastic tyrants and mass murderers, while hurling their heaviest thunders upon nearly all the heroic self-sacrificing lovers of their fellow-men, who have contributed to bring in the new day.

6. *Ignorance.* The spread of secular knowledge unsettles dominion in so far as it rests on ideas. The Romanoffs generally cherished the brutish ignorance of their subjects as the brightest jewel of their crown. They did what they could to make difficulties for the *zemstvos* in their policy of planting schools among the common people. Tsarism feared all teaching it did not control and no association or individual might open a school without express authorization. Gymnasium and university were subject to the most high-handed interferences in order that the young scholars they turned out might be "reliable" and "safe."

In South America neither the ruling proprietary class nor the Church desires to dispel the darkness which reigns in the minds of the masses. The *hacendados* fear lest schooling make the children of the

agricultural laborer—the *peon* or *inquilino*—grow up demanding, or restless and migrant. As one put it to me, “We don’t want the children of our *inquilinos* disturbed in their minds.”

7. *The sharing of the benefits from domination.* When an empire has a superior culture to impart, its domination may be profitable to both parties. To the people she brought under her sway Rome offered peace, internal order, security of industry and property, Roman law, public works, and the classical culture. Her rule was iron but broadly just and provinces like Spain and Gaul, which had resisted her yoke with desperation, later flourished wonderfully and became intensely loyal. Spain brought into the Americas many elements of advancement and might have retained her colonies had she been less avaricious and cruel in her policy respecting them. The British *raj* in India and still more in the Malay States has brought great benefits to the subject peoples. The American rule in the Philippines still more resembles a partnership between dominators and dominated.

RESULTS OF DOMINATION

Subjection to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of the decay of national character. Take, for example, the Hindoos. A Greek writer, Arrian, declares that “they are remarkably brave, superior in war to all Asiatics; they are remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to law suit and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements. No Indian was ever known to tell an untruth.” This portrays the precise opposite of modern Hindoo character and the change can be accounted for only by the long subjection of the race to the rule of the foreigner.

The character of the Greeks a century ago at the time of their struggle of liberation from the Turks was in glaring contrast to that of the classical Greeks. The generations which have come on the scene since then show in growing measure the virtues of freemen. The Syrians and Armenians are undoubtedly fine people, but life under oppression has tainted them with the vices of lying and trickery. Not until the second generation after the breaking of the Turkish yoke will they recover the normal character of the race. The East-European Hebrews also show much moral deformity from subjection to the will of aliens. The effect of male domination upon the character of women is well known. Just as the Turks regard Armenian trickiness as a race

trait instead of the result of their own violence, so the deceit and cajolery by which women gain their ends under the masculine yoke are looked upon as sex characters instead of natural products of domination.

Even a domination which is just and benevolent may stunt the spiritual growth of a people. The British domination of Egypt makes for the material prosperity of the people but does not advance them appreciably toward the plane of self-government. The definite removal from the sphere of activity of a people of most of the matters calling for collective thought or will depresses and effeminates. A share in government, and finally self-government should be held out to a dominated people as an inducement to "make good."

No large simple maxim like "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent" or its opposite, "The backward races are the white man's burden," gives trustworthy guidance in the question of domination. The people of Turkestan were immensely benefited by being brought under the Tsar's scepter. It is a fair question whether the people of Venezuela or Ecuador would not be better off under European domination than under the government they actually get. On the other hand, the Japanese have certainly developed farther than if, like the Indians or the Burmese, they had fallen under alien rule. The subjection of the Chinese to foreign domination would be in the end an incalculable misfortune for them. No doubt it is important that all men everywhere be put quickly in possession of civilization; but the case of Japan shows that appropriation of a higher culture does not call for the surrender of political independence. Nothing is more poisonous than the doctrine that some one people has been "chosen" to disseminate the true faith or the true civilization among the rest of mankind without heed to the wishes of these dwellers in darkness.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why does patriarchal authority thrive in pastoral life?
2. What excuses are offered for the domination of men over women?
3. What is the origin and significance of the Hindoo *suttee*?
4. How is it that the specialized fighting class regularly lords it over the far more numerous working population?
5. Show how patronage becomes a means of domination.
6. Illustrate the political use of spiritual power.
7. What is the effect of prolonged domination upon the character of the dominated?
8. In what cases is foreign domination justifiable?

EXERCISES

60. Is "Spare the rod and spoil the child" out of date, or is it as true as ever?
61. Should high school pupils be allowed to maintain sororities and fraternities?
62. Give illustrations of your own of the struggle between old and young over the control of social machinery.
63. How does the lessening of the economic importance of the home-staying woman affect the relation between the wills of husbands and wives?
64. Shall we discriminate more against a divorced woman than against a divorced man?
65. Should the widow who remarries be held in poorer taste than the widower who remarries?
66. Ought judges to be more lenient in letting women off jury service than in letting men off?
67. Where would you draw the line between legitimate and illegitimate in campaign expenditures?
68. What do you think of the proposition that our "freedom of the press" amounts to letting the moneyed class maintain a lot of newspapers for circulating lies and sophistries intended to delude the people in the interest of this class?
69. What can be done to lessen the unfair advantage of the moneyed in the shaping of public opinion?
70. Taking education as the imparting of truth, can there be such a thing as too much education?

Forces of leadership

and

CHAPTER XI

EXPLOITATION

THE leading purpose in dominating is *to use others as means to one's own ends.*

KINDS OF EXPLOITATION

1. *Sexual.* This has been one great object of women capture. "Booty and Beauty" have been the two spurs pricking the young men of the tribe to warlike undertakings. Sometimes a beaten people is bound to deliver to the conquerors not only a tribute of produce but also a tribute of maidens. In certain Malay states the sultan not only exacts taxes of his subjects but requires the subject's daughter to pass through his harem.

2. *Religious.* The conquerors may require the beaten to become worshipers of their god, to furnish youths to be sacrificed or maidens to be dedicated to the service of the god.

3. *Egotic.* The ego glories in signs of abasement on the part of others. The Roman master exacted of his on-hangers (*clientes*) that they should attend him when he showed himself in public and thereby greatness his dignity. The great senatorial landowner required of his tenants-at-will that they should periodically pay him their humble respects. The feudal king exacted *homage* of his fief-holders. Louis XIV of France, the "Sun King," expected his loyal courtiers to gather at the Ox-Eye window of his palace to observe his going to bed and his getting up. The rise of the monarchy on the ruins of feudalism in the seventeenth century involved the transformation of the lord living on and governing his fief into the *courtier*, who obtained for his son a place in army, state or church, for his daughter a good marriage, only by settling at the royal court and contributing to the glory of the monarch.

Taken together, however, all these species of exploitation amount to little. The one omnipresent and overshadowing kind is

4. *Economic.* This means *making others work for you or taking for your own use the fruits of their unrequited toil.* The temptation to exploit was especially strong before the era of machinery because if a

man could not force others to accept the heavy work of grinding, dragging, carrying, and delving, he had to do it himself. No doubt the modern sentiment against all forms of forced labor is owing in great part to our success in harnessing the forces of Nature to our service. Men do not like to exploit their fellow-men, but generally they have hated hard work more than they have hated the exploitation of others.

All about us we see one human being making use of another, the wife becoming a barren parasite, the husband loafing on the earnings of his wife, the grown son hanging about home living on his parents, one brother or sister absorbing the earnings of another, friend taking advantage of friend, and such like. The thing is common and its rule is simple. In any sentimental relation the one who cares less can exploit the one who cares more. In the man-woman relation and the mother-child relation we see this very plainly.

Whenever the law perceives in a personal relation a fine chance to exploit, it supplies safeguards. It scrutinizes suspiciously gifts from ward to guardian and looks into the circumstances surrounding the death-bed willing of property to those about the testator. It limits freedom of contract so that infatuated persons may not mortgage their entire future in favor of another. Still, the law with all its benevolent intentions cannot prevent many temporary exploitations arising between individuals from differences in the strength of their mutual love, in the strength of their character, and in the strength of their situation.

The big exploitation is not that which exists despite the law, but that which, being established in custom and law, has become an *institution*. It may be defined as *any regular profiting of one element in society at the expense of other elements, which would be abolished if the elements came to be equal in power.*

LINES OF EXPLOITATION

1. *Offspring by parents.* Surviving patriarchal ideas as to the prerogatives of the parent coupled with the money value which machine production confers on the labor of the weak has led to an extensive exploitation of young children which in the United States shows least restraint in the mountain population of our South and in our immigrants from the more backward parts of Europe.

2. *Women by men.* In the words of a native Australian, "A man hunts, spears fish, fights, and sits about." In primitive society practically all the work devolves upon the women. It is they who dress the

skins, pitch the tent, make the garments, prepare the food, and manufacture pottery, baskets, and mats. The Indian never touches the game he has brought in after he has dropped it at the tent door. The Eskimo man will not even draw the seal from the water after he has speared it. The division of function between the sexes is sharp—everything in the nature of *exploit* going to man, all mere *drudgery* going to woman. In the hunting stage, this adjustment is not so unfair. But as game becomes scarcer and more and more the food supply comes from the little patches of corn or yams or manioc cultivated by the women, the men become parasites upon their wives. Hence, innumerable peoples in the lower agriculture show women exploited by men. “The Wallach,” says Palmer, “has an inveterate horror of any labor that can be avoided—as for the unavoidable, he has a very high ideal of the ‘dignity of man’ and considers that it is only right and fitting that he should spend the long summer days in a delicious siesta while his wife does all the work upon his little holding!”

Hogarth observes women in Turkey “carrying and laying the bricks of a rising house watched by a ring of squatting men” and adds, “I have seen a mother pass and repass a rapid rocky stream, carrying in succession a husband and two grown sons; and on the bare stones of Taurus all the women of a migrating horde trailing their bleeding feet after the camels, horses, and asses which bore their fathers, husbands, and brothers.”

The migration of industrial processes from the home has of late called into being a new type, the parasite wife, who neither works nor bears children, and imagines that she is conferring an inexpressible boon when she allows her man to support her. Her “society” compensates him for everything, while *his* “society” is not deemed of any value to her.

3. *Poor by rich.* Wealth is *potential social power*, for it may be the means of establishing an exploitive control over other men. The wily Jacob acquiring the famishing Esau’s birthright for a mess of pottage is a symbol of how a temporary surplus may be converted into a permanent advantage. Wealth may be converted into many other kinds of power—political, legal, social, ecclesiastical, religious, etc.; but these in turn can be converted into wealth. Rich men may use their money to get into politics, but once there they may use their political power to gain more money. They may use their money to acquire for themselves more legal rights and then use their legal rights to gain more money. They may use their money to win a control over needy men

and use this control to gain more money. Thus the formula for the exploitive utilization of riches is Wealth—Power—More Wealth.

By bribery the wealthy may shift the main burden of taxation to those too poor to bribe. Thus the great landowners of the Roman Empire bought or wheedled for themselves individual or collective immunities from visitation by the tax gatherers. From their tenants they raised small armies and drove away the revenue officers. They bribed the officials until the tax registers became a tissue of frauds. If fresh taxes were imposed they saw to it that the burden fell on others. If the emperor granted a remission of taxes they saw to it that the lion's share of the benefit fell to them. In the same way a few years ago American multimillionaires residing in New York City were paying taxes on from a twentieth up to a tenth of what their fortunes proved to be when probated. The attorney most conspicuous in the formation of "trusts" in industry admits that by means of a present he induced the assessment official to let him write in the figures on which the numerous combinations he represented paid taxes.

The rich may harass the small proprietor until he sells out cheap. The numerous owners of anthracite coal lands in eastern Pennsylvania were forced to sell to the big coal companies because the latter by controlling the coal-carrying railroads were able to levy upon their competitors exorbitant charges for carriage. In the end the little holders let their coal lands go for a pitiful price. A like control over the carriers enabled the dominant petroleum concern to acquire our Eastern oil lands at a fraction of their value. Often in the American West the big rancher used his numerous cowboys and gunmen to ruin the "homesteader" and chase away the small cattleman in order that he might himself grow rich on grazing stolen from the public lands.

The institution of *debt slavery* permits the rich to take advantage of the misfortunes of the poor by loan contracts which sink the borrower and his descendants into perpetual bondage in case the loan is not repaid at the appointed time. Centuries before the tsars bound the peasants to the soil, many Russian cultivators had lost their liberty of removal from one manor to another in consequence of owing money to the landlord. They were chained to the estate, unless they found some other landlord willing to pay the money they owed and thereby acquire the right to remove them to his own manor. In tropical America the institution of *peonage* permits the planter to bind the agricultural laborer to his *hacienda* by means of a small advance of cash or goods.

A few years ago investigation by the United States Immigration

Commission disclosed the fact that immigrant peonage existed in every State in the Union save Oklahoma and Connecticut. Although in the South and West many aliens were being held to labor against their will under intolerable conditions, it was in the lumber camps of Maine that the commission found "the most complete system of peonage in the country."

There is no greater error than to suppose with the anarchists that the *State* is the one great engine of exploitation. Often government offers the sole check upon the power of the rich to hire armed men to bully small proprietors whose lands they covet. The anarchy in France under the weak Merwings of the seventh century did not make for liberty. Not only did the slaves fail to rise, but the proportion of slaves in the population actually increased. Many sold themselves in times of distress, others were kidnapped. The weak had to implore the favor of the strong, so that dependence and subordination spread. For once public authority abdicates, the poor or friendless man has to submit himself to him who has armed kinsmen or retainers at his beck.

4. *The few by the many.* Conservatives pretend that this is the most imminent and menacing form of exploitation and extol class privilege, restricted suffrage, and constitutional limitations upon the scope of action of the legislature as means by which the propertyless Many may be restrained from despoiling the propertied Few. The fact is *there is no social system under which the Many regularly exploit the Few*. Obligated to live by labor the masses are not apt to become infected with the idea of living off the fruits of other men's toil. It is an infection transmitted from parent to child in the *propertied* families. Save when they are set upon some religious or racial minority in the population—such as Moors, Jews, or Armenians—it never occurs to the Many to despoil those whose lot is like their own. If ever they ravish away the goods of the possessing Few, it is because the idleness, luxury, pride, and aloofness of this class have destroyed all sympathy with them. *So long as they exhibit the ordinary economic and social virtues, the capable are in no danger from popular envy and cupidity.*

5. *The industrious by the leisured.* The leisure class has the time, the organization, the continuity, and the resources for putting through an exploitive enterprise. One of its great strokes was getting the European State to release the holders of the fiefs from their feudal obligations, so that great parcels of land granted originally as a means of endowing the defense of the realm became on easy terms private property pure and simple. Another was the wresting of land from the

old European village communities. Kropotkin denies that the agricultural communities died a natural death, but insists "The village communities had lived for over a thousand years; and where and when the peasants were not ruined by wars and exactions they steadily improved their methods of culture. But as the value of land was increasing in consequence of the growth of industries, and the nobility had acquired under the state organization a power which it never had under the feudal system, it took possession of the best parts of the communal lands."

6. *The ignorant by the intelligent.* Relations freely entered into between intelligent persons will benefit both, whereas if one person is ignorant the same relation may lead to his exploitation by the other. The European trader goes to the uncivilized native of the tropics and induces him to part with everything he has for spirits or opium, or tempts him with goods on credit. The trader offers gay cloth, knives, gongs, guns, and gunpowder to be paid for by some natural product of the jungle or some crop not yet planted. The ignorant native has not sufficient forethought to take only such goods as he can pay for and not enough energy to work early and late to get out of debt. The result is he sinks deeper and deeper into the morass of debt and remains for life a debtor and almost a slave.

The mining companies in Peru recruit most of their underground labor through agents who go about and "hook" the guileless native. The "hooker" turns up in a village some weeks before the annual *fiesta* in honor of its patron saint. On such an occasion the Indian is wont to "blow" himself because his entire emotional, recreative, and social life centers about this *fiesta*. What with presents of vestments or jewels to the effigy of the saint, fees to the priest for masses, and a feast for his numerous relatives and friends, he is in a mood to embark on reckless spending. Comes now the wheedling "hooker" and offers him from \$30 to \$50 cash, provided only the Indian will sign a bond to repay the debt by labor. Often the Indian signs the contract when drunk and usually he fails to realize where he is to work and how. He thinks he is to work for the "hooker," whereas he may be sent a hundred miles away to toil in a freezing mine gallery or a hot cane field. Buried far from home in a coast sugar *hacienda* or a *montaña* coffee estate, the poor fellow finds himself a slave without a shred of legal protection and quite at the mercy of his employer.

7. *The unorganized by the organized.* In the last two centuries of the Roman Republic the territory won by arms, although the prop-

We have different degrees in exploitation. could be used for social good.

erty of the state, was in the hands of four or five hundred magnates whose citadel of power was the Senate. Beneath them lay several millions of freemen, Italians or provincials. The former held great blocks of the land of the state by "precarious" tenure; the latter were in turn precarists of the former. Thus there was a hierarchy of tenants and sub-tenants, all holding directly or indirectly of the state. But since the magnates were usually senators, i.e., the government itself, their dependence on the state was nominal. They even rid themselves at last of every payment for the use of their immense stretches of public land. On the other hand, the dependence of the sub-occupants upon these magnates was real and strict, so that the latter realized the full worth of the use of the land. It is thus that a well-knit phalanx handles the multitude.

The unparalleled looting of many large American cities in the years before the great civic awakening beginning about 1905 exemplifies the leverage afforded by organization. The "grafters" were not numerous but they paid no attention to party lines or to the line between public business and private business. With the saloon keepers, gamblers, and keepers of houses of prostitution, the gas, electric lighting, water, tramway, and railway companies, together with certain favored contractors, bankers, and business men, the politicians formed a "ring" buttressed by the votes of blind partisans, selfish job-holders, naïve naturalized immigrants, and venal "floaters" and reinforced by electoral frauds. The robbed taxpayers were far more numerous, but they were for the most part unaware of how they were exploited or else from habit divided on lines of party, nationality, occupation, and social class. Exposure and agitation through several years was necessary before the citizens could be aroused to the point of banding together against the *plunderbund*; but once they rose in their might the ringsters were swept away like chaff before a gale.

8. *Lait by priests.* Among the rural people of India there is no domestic incident which does not entail its tax of offerings or food for the Brahman. Nothing happens without the Brahman being "feed and fed." His business is to eat, not to teach. Says Strachey:

The universal acceptance of Brahmans, and the recognition of their divine right to be fed by the rest of the community, is the one link between the countless forms of Hinduism.

When Cyprus came under Britain the rôle of the Greek Church there was evident. Writes Hepworth Dixon:

As the gap between social groups closes up, the possibility of exploitation lessens.

Pasha and archbishop had always much in common. By their birth and training they were Oriental and their notions of government were those of Oriental men. Each fleeced his flock; one shearing with his hanjar and the other tearing with his crook. Hanjars are sharper instruments than crooks; but in the hands of skilful shepherds, crooks can comb out lots of wool. So long as pasha and primate could agree about the times for fleecing, little was left for the poor sheep, except to stand up quietly to the knife.

In South America the Indians of the Sierra are still exploited by their *curas* by means of practices which were outlawed as long ago as the Council of Trent. They collect their baptismal, marriage, and burial fees *in advance* and these fees are assessed according to the means of the family. Thus they contrive to absorb the entire surplus of the natives, so that a gross ignorant half-breed *cura* may extract from the poor herdmen of the Bolivian highlands an income which would do credit to one of our metropolitan pulpits. The fault is not with the Church but with the poor material available for *curas*.

The emotions associated with religion are so intense that the greedy priest may easily play upon them to his own profit. The means of safeguarding the laity against such exploitation are: a high plane of lay intelligence, wide diffusion of natural truth, the competition of different forms of religion within the same field, direct access of worshiper to deity (whereby the priest becomes a mere pastor instead of an indispensable middleman), and a church organization penetrated by spiritual aims, which can restrain the conscienceless priest from taking advantage of the faithful.

9. *Conquered by conquerors.* Throughout history, since the stronger ceased to eat the beaten or to kill him in order to appropriate his women, the omnipresent motive in conquest has been economic exploitation. Rome came to be a huge collective parasite. The revenue derived by the Roman Republic from her eastern conquests made it possible from 167 B.C. on to exempt the Romans from paying taxes to the state. By Cæsar's time two-thirds of the population of the capital were in receipt of wheat largesses. Three hundred and twenty thousand citizens representing at least 600,000 persons had become dependent on the weekly dole of wheat and oil—and sometimes wine—extorted from the provinces as tribute. These, however, were the petty parasites. Rome was also the feeding and roosting place of the greater vampires—the governors, senators, capitalists, landlords, and slave merchants, who were using the Roman legions to bleed the Mediterranean world.

In the words of Ferrero:

As little by little the treasures of Mithridates, conquered by Lucullus in the Orient, arrive in Italy, Italy begins anew to divert itself, to construct palaces and villas, to squander in luxury. Pompey, envious of the glory of Lucullus, follows his example, conquers Syria, sends new treasures to Italy, carries from the East the jewels of Mithridates, and displaying them in the temple of Jove, rouses a passion for gems in the Roman women; he also builds the first great stone theatre to rise in Rome. All the political men in Rome try to make money out of foreign countries; those who cannot, like the great, conquer an empire confine themselves to blackmailing the countries and petty states that tremble before the shadow of Rome; the courts of the secondary kings of the Orient, the court of the Ptolemies at Alexandria—all are invaded by a horde of insatiable senators and knights, who, menacing and promising, extort money to spend in Italy and foment the growing extravagance.

Presently for very wearisome work, such as mining, moving heavy objects, turning grinding mills, and bringing wild land under cultivation, free labor was not to be had, so that it was necessary to coerce men to work. Free men preferred beggary, or parasitism on the rich, which was greatly developed in the ancient world. Hence the demand for slaves was insatiable. "The later campaigns on the Rhine and the Danube, were really slave hunts on a gigantic scale." Man-stealing was a regular trade. With the least relaxation of vigilance on the part of the state the sea was beset by pirates and the roads by brigands, who distributed their human catch through distant markets, especially Delos the great slave market of the Græco-Roman world.

For coldblooded heartless exploitation of the weak the conduct of the *conquistadores* toward the natives of Spanish America remains unmatched. For two centuries probably no Spaniard came nearer to manual labor than superintending from his saddle the movements of native workmen. Some thousands of Indians would be granted to a Spaniard on the theory that he was to provide them instruction in the things of the holy Catholic faith. As a just recompense to him for thus saving their souls, they were to serve him with their bodies. Under this pious cloak the invaders seated themselves firmly on the backs of the natives, and remained there while their serfs washed gold for them or tended herds or grew food.

Open wholesale exploitation of this sort is now on the wane, not so much because our enterprising element is morally above it as because all the peoples watch each and the whole world may ring with the atrocities

committed for the sake of rubber on the hapless natives on the Congo or the Putumayo. Then, too, machinery and steam lessen the demand for forced human labor, so that it is chiefly in the extraction of the natural wealth of the Tropics that the old brutal exploitation survives.

10. *The governed by the rulers.* The state may be an independent exploiter. In the First Book of Samuel under guise of prophecy the practical significance of an Oriental state is brought out:

He will take your sons and appoint them unto him for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and they shall run before his chariots; and he will appoint them unto him for captains of thousands, and captains of fifties; and some to plough his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war and the equipment of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. And he will take your fields and your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your menservants and your maidservants and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to work. He will take the tenth of your flocks, and ye shall be his servants.

In the later Roman Empire the burden of taxes and conscription became such that many Roman subjects settled beyond the frontier among the barbarians in order to win clear of recruiting officer and tax gatherer. Under Charlemagne and his successors the count charged with administering a district in the name of the king dispensed justice, raised taxes, and levied troops without any legal restrictions on his acts. He had to be wary of the great landowners and bishops but he was held in check by no assembly of any sort. He became therefore a local tyrant. His cupidity was whetted by the fact that often he had bought his countship. Unsalaries he paid himself out of fines, taxes, and payments for exemption from military service. Hence, the abuse of power was profitable to him and he made justice as severe, taxes as heavy, and military service as exacting as possible. Small wonder that the rich purchased of the king immunity from the count's jurisdiction and by thus honey-combing the authority of the state helped to bring in the feudal system.

Such state exploitation is dying out because one can see with half an eye that it kills the goose that lays the golden eggs. Modern government therefore does not exploit directly but protects and enforces the property and contract rights by means of which the dominant class (or classes) exploits others. It stands back of the legal rights of the landlords, the *amos*, the *hacendados*, the *pomieshtchiks*, the wool kings, the cattle kings, the mine operators, the usurers, the monopolists, the big

employers, and other groups which enjoy some measure of exploitive advantage.

A social class which controls government in order to safeguard its privileges and property claims is not primarily interested in having the salaries of offices or the spending of taxes. What is known as "good government" in American cities often means nothing more than the clearing out of useless placemen, along with the elimination of "graft" from public works and the purchase of public supplies. It may have nothing in common with *self-government* or *popular government*, but may signify simply that a roused commercial or propertied class has wrested control from the shady politicians and crooked business men in order to restore government to the functions they are interested in. It is significant that the failure of Democrats in power usually takes the form of the multiplication of offices filled by inefficients and the lavish outlay of money in jobbed public works. On the other hand, the failure of Republicans in office more often takes the form of adopting laws and policies unduly favoring certain business or property groups and neglecting to curb interests which prey upon the public.

THE LAWS OF EXPLOITATION

1. *The social elements differ in original disposition to exploit.* Hand-workers are less eager to live off others than those engaged in pecuniary employments, such as traders, manufacturers, bankers, and financiers. None are so resolute to exploit as those bred to leisure, for they feel they have a God-given right to live delicately at the expense of others. A class reared to despise work is in sooth the most dangerous element in society, for in order to avoid it, it is willing to sacrifice morals, religion, popular liberty, and national independence.

2. *Exploitation is more open, ruthless, and stubborn between the unlike than between the like.* One part of a kin group does not prey upon another part. Strong tribal, or national, or sectarian consciousness checks exploitation within the tribe, the nation, or the religious body. Exploitation is worst just after conquest and every step in the assimilation of conquerors and conquered is followed by a let up. People like the South African Boers, who are quite without predatory traditions, bring themselves to enslave aborigines very unlike themselves. African slavery was tolerated by European opinion long after white slavery had been outlawed in Europe.

Exploiters invent or exaggerate unlikeness in order to justify themselves. The Southern master insisted the negro had no soul or made

out his bondage to be God's punishment laid upon the descendants of Ham who failed in respect to Father Noah. For centuries the English strove to convince the world that the Irish are incapable of governing themselves. Islam prohibited the enslavement of the faithful but approved that of "infidels." The religious orders in the Philippines excused their neglect to provide for popular education by representing the natives as "monkeys."

Difference has, indeed, such validating power that the very ignorance, rudeness, and degradation caused by exploitation will be offered as a justification for it.

3. *An element is ready and whole-hearted in exploitation in the degree that it constitutes a self-conscious group.* Islam knit together the Asiatic intruders into southeastern Europe in their collective skinning of the Christians. In the Middle Ages Christianity gave the population the solidarity it needed in order systematically to exploit the Jews. On the march to Peking in 1900 race consciousness gave the allied armies the warrant they needed for maltreatment of the peaceful Chinese along their route.

4. *The will to exploit lasts as long as the power to exploit.* Exploiters never tire of exploitation. A kept class never loses its taste for consuming the fruits of other men's toil, nor does it ever give up exploiting out of conviction of sin. Its manner of life becomes completely adjusted to its parasitism and it never fails to develop moral standards, theories, and ideals which chime with the economic basis of its life. Individual members of a kept class may come to feel that their exploitation is indefensible, but the class merely disowns them, dresses its ranks, and moves on.

Nevertheless, the spirit of the age reverberates even in the members of an exploiting class and in some cases they have been brought to feel compunction respecting their relation to those who support them. This feeling expresses itself never in a movement utterly to give up parasitism and go to work, but in insistence on greater humanity toward the exploited or in the recognition of "duties" and "responsibilities" toward them. Toward the end of feudalism there was a movement among the lords to better the lot of the serfs. Southern slaveholders developed higher standards of humanity in the treatment of their slaves and punished atrocities by the more ferocious masters. Employers adopt "welfare" work and "safety first" for their employees, while capitalists urge the "Golden Rule" in business and espouse such doctrines as the "stewardship of wealth" and "the Christianization of

capital." Imperial countries admit an obligation to spend a part of the revenue extracted from a tropical colony in improving the colony, while kings by Divine Right acknowledge their duty to promote the welfare of their subjects. But never do the exploiters of their own motion abolish serfdom, or slavery, or absolutism, or turn loose the dependency, or socialize the great estates, or adopt progressive taxation, or extend public ownership. Slavery, serfdom, peonage, landlordism, industrial feudalism, absolutism, and monopoly have never been ended by consent.

5. *Foreign domination is likely to suppress infra-social exploitation.* If the foreign masters exploit the dependency they will be jealous of the native exploiting groups, and if they do not they will be disgusted by them. In India the British have either done away with the insatiable native princes or else curbed their rapacity. The Americans on occupying the Philippines found the parasitism of the friars, who owned one-fifteenth of the cultivated land, so odious that they soon packed them off.

6. *A new element menaces the continuance of an exploitation unless that element be made a sharer of its benefits.* Outsiders spoil the game. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries negro slavery was more inhumane in the self-governing English colonies in the West Indies than in the Spanish and the French West Indies, which were governed from Europe. Lay churches, like the Protestant denominations, were more complaisant about slavery than the Roman Catholic church. In Virginia, Jamaica, and Barbados, where the masters controlled both state and church, the slaves had the fewest rights. Eastern opinion working through the Federal Government has checked the frontiersmen's grabbing of the land of the Indian and the traders' robbery of him by selling him whiskey. Aroused British opinion put an end in 1833 to slavery in the English colonies, while Northern hostility, aroused chiefly from 1835 on, was the cause of the downfall of slavery in the United States. The coming of Hawaii under American law in 1898 automatically terminated the system of indentured labor which the planter class had established on the sugar plantations.

7. *Masked exploitation outlasts open exploitation.* In an enlightened democratic society the only considerable exploitations that can survive are clandestine. Jobbery in municipal contracts is secret. The white slave traffic is furtive. Peonage is remote and wears an innocent air. Monopoly endures not in virtue of royal grants or favoring law, as in olden time, but by reason of hidden rebates from carriers or secret understandings among commercial rivals. A race-track gambling game

wears the guise of an amusement enterprise or an encouragement of horse-breeding. The periodical shearing of "lambs" in the stock market is tolerated only because the process is not understood by the public.

Hence, what latter-day exploitation most dreads is—*being unmasked!* What it fights most desperately is investigation or publicity. It centers its pressure on newspaper men, newspapers, magazines, prosecuting attorneys, legislative committees, professors of the social sciences, clergymen, agitators—in a word, on those who may expose it or direct public attention its way. It follows that alarmed resistance to publicity on the part of a business affords just ground for suspicion.

8. The favorite mask of an exploitation is a counter service or return which falls far short of being an equivalent. The virtual slavery of the indebted peon is camouflaged by crediting him with wages for his labor and charging him outrageous prices for the scanty supplies he obtains from the planter's store. His laboring like a slave for mere food and clothes appears as a double transaction of purchase and sale. The ghastly slavery of the Indians on the Putumayo in eastern Peru hid itself in the books of the British company as the exchange of raw rubber at an incredibly low price for food and clothes at a price five or ten times their real worth. Under the system maintained formerly by the Dutch government in Java "Each native was obliged to plant six hundred coffee trees and keep them in bearing and deliver the crop cleaned and sorted at the government warehouse at a fixed price—nine and twelve florins the picul previous to 1874, although forty and forty-five florins were paid in the open market of the ports."

Forced labor being unknown to American law the operators of Southern lumber or turpentine camps until lately provided themselves with the negro labor they could not attract by wages by having able-bodied negroes arrested on some flimsy or trumped-up charge. By paying their fines when they were sentenced to the chain-gang to work out these fines the operators gained control of the negroes' labor power at a trifling expense.

9. Opportunities for masked exploitation multiply as social relations become involved and social interdependence more extended. Once every man offered his sacrifice himself, but the custom of letting the priest do it opens the door to sacerdotal abuses. Once every man might conduct his own cause, but the custom of appearing in court only by attorney delivers the litigant to the legal profession. Reliance upon bought food or milk gives the adulterator his chance. In the South a too-commercial farming has often enslaved the cultivator to the store-

keeper with his mortgage and crop liens. Producing for the market instead of for home consumption exposes the farmer to the exactions of elevator men, grain buyers, and common carriers. The remedy is "Raise your own stuff." The investment of capital gives an advanced people a means of exploiting a backward people quite as productive as the brutal extraction of tribute. The spread of the opium evil among the Chinese under the stimulation of British traders, who even forced a war rather than be interfered with, illustrates the perils which lurk in trade.

10. *Whatever equalizes social elements in respect to intelligence, courage, organization, discipline, or situation narrows the power of the one to exploit the other.* Gunpowder leveled up the townsmen with the barons and knights. The appearance of intelligence and capacity in the French commoners before the Revolution made nonsense of the privileges of the nobles and clergy. Many believe that if the Southern negroes gain industrial skill and accumulate property they will not for long be kept out of their rights. Popular education is an anti-exploitation policy. Organization among farmers causes a prompt change of attitude in exploiting middlemen and carriers. From Ireland to Argentina organization among rural tenants has quickly broken landlord oppression. Labor organization is rightly hated by employers for it destroys much of their economic advantage.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What are the four chief kinds of exploitation?
2. State the law of personal exploitation.
3. Define "institutionalized" exploitation.
4. State the formula for the exploitive use of riches.
5. Show that there is small danger of the Many regularly exploiting the Few.
6. What type of exploitation does the looting of American cities illustrate?
7. How may exploitation of laity by clergy be prevented?
8. Why is direct exploitation by government dying out?
9. Why is it that opportunities for masked exploitation are multiplying?

EXERCISES

71. Does the advance of civilization lessen the desire for egotic exploitation?
72. How does the notion arise that it is nobler to be a parasite than to be self-supporting?
73. Who should be more interested in law and law-enforcement—poor men or rich men?
74. Compare in influence upon society the rich who have the ideal of being useful and the rich who have the ideal of elegant idling.

75. Is the difference among the elements in society in respect to the completeness and perfection of their organization likely to increase or diminish?
76. In Russia the two big popular parties were for taking the estates from the nobles without compensation, while the party of property was for compensation; which was right?
77. Show that there is nothing socialistic in the last sentence of the paragraph on the first "law of exploitation."
78. Criticize the doctrine of the "stewardship of wealth" as the remedy for swollen fortunes.
79. Does the ninth "law of exploitation" open up a depressing prospect?

*The more interdependent we become
the more opportunity there is for
exploitation.*

OPPOSITION

CHAPTER

- XII OPPOSITION
- XIII OPPOSITION—THE GOOD SIDE
- XIV OPPOSITION—THE BAD SIDE
- XV PERSONAL COMPETITION
- XVI CLASS STRUGGLE
- XVII INSTITUTIONAL COMPETITION

Stimulates us to think.
Keeps us better balanced
Conflicts make for better under-
standing. Free discussion is
good in most cases.

CHAPTER XII

OPPOSITION

THE "contrary" type is well exemplified by that Scotch worthy of whom Macaulay wrote, "His hostility was not to popery or to Protestantism, to monarchical government or to republican government, to the house of Stuart or to the house of Nassau, but to whatever was, at the time, established." Such "born kickers" pose as champions of threatened rights, knightly defenders of the minority, when, in fact, what animates them is the spirit of contradiction. Group oppositions, however, have a less temperamental origin.

INTERFERENCE OF INTERESTS AS A CAUSE OF OPPOSITION

Clash of interest, even when it does not breed hostility, begets opposition in case either party has in prospect an advantage. So long as either believes that by expending x it can force its opponent to cede it $x +$, there will be strife unless the other party yields without resistance. In case both become convinced that an advantage of x can be extorted only by an expenditure of $x +$, there will be an armed peace until the situation of the moment is crystallized in some agreement, treaty, law or institution, after which opposition ceases.

Whether conflict will end thus in an equilibrium or will continue until one or the other contestant is disposed of, depends on the nature of the arena. If the struggle takes place, as it were, in a bowl, then the farther the stronger pushes the weaker, the harder it is to make him yield still more ground. This is illustrated by two well-matched states when, after an initial advantage, A invades B. The farther the invading army penetrates, the longer the line of communications it has to protect and the greater the resistance offered by the enemy population.

If, conversely, the arena is, as it were, an *inverted* bowl, the situation does not stabilize itself. The farther the stronger pushes the weaker the easier it is to make him yield still more ground. Such a case results in the complete triumph of the one and elimination of the other. This is exemplified by maritime rivals—Rome and Carthage,

Genoa and Pisa, Venice and Genoa—which fight until one or the other is overcome. Here there is no stabilizing frontier as there may be between land powers. For sea powers there can be no frontier. The same sea is in all ports and wherever the sea flows the hostile ships may sail and meet and fight.

Some combatants grow stronger as they lose because sympathy or justice or self-interest stirs others to intervene on behalf of the losing side. In class struggles public opinion often rallies to the aid of the weaker side when the other presses its advantage to the utmost.

HATRED MAY MAKE CONFLICT CHRONIC

Our innate pugnacity is stirred against those who continually come between us and our goal. Statesmen, politicians, and business men may harbor no ill will toward those who persist in getting in their way, but the masses are more emotional. The animosity of the white workers of California toward the immigrant Chinese, of the English-speaking coal miners of Pennsylvania toward the Slavic immigrants who displaced them, of Northern wage-earners toward the negroes from the South who are used for wage-cutting, of strikers toward “scabs” and strike-breakers, illustrates how we come to hate supplanters. In such cases conflict is not limited by cool calculation of the gains and costs of strife.

IMAGINATIVE HOSTILITY AS A CAUSE OF OPPOSITION

Opposition may spring from that imaginative hostility which arises when we attribute an *inimical idea* to another mind. Against this feeling closer association and fuller knowledge of one another offer no security. “Whether intimacy will improve our sentiment toward another man or not depends upon the true relation of his way of feeling and thinking to ours.” No doubt we would hate rivals and foes less could we know them as men like ourselves. But it is not so with the antipathy which roots in difference. There are individuals who do not improve on acquaintance. Mark Twain had the type in mind when he drawled, “The more I think of him, the less I think of him.” This is why refinement, culture and taste do not of necessity lessen hostility. “They make a richer and finer sympathy possible, but at the same time multiply the occasions of antipathy.”

Resentment is a species of hostility springing from menace to the mirrored self. “It rests,” says Cooley, “upon a feeling that the other person harbors ideas injurious to us; so that the thought of him is an

attack upon ourself." Indignation is a higher sort of imaginative hostility "directed toward some attack upon a standard of right and not merely an impulse like pique or jealousy." It claims a general or social foundation and is always ready to justify itself in open court.

When life is rather bare of interests, grudges are cherished and handed down from fathers to sons as precious heirlooms. Feuds between clans in our Appalachian Mountains, between gangs in city slums, between villages in China and in the Caucasus, constitute the pungent seasoning of a humdrum existence. But when life becomes full of interests such conflict is avoided as pointless and wasteful. Again, hatreds die as society becomes fluid. The worst foes sometimes are bickering farmers whose fields join and who cannot get apart. In the city, relationships are more easily shifted, with the result that city denizens feel more indifference for one another than country-dwellers, but less often cherish active hostility. One *avoids* the person he has found to be antipathetic, but does not *hate* him.

One benefit of the introduction of a village improvement society, a grange, or a social center into a neighborhood is that, by giving people something else to think about than one another's faults and irritating ways, it sweetens the entire community.

WHOLESOME OPPOSITION

A battle not for self but for a cause or a principle is fought out without the embitterments, but also without the mollifyings, which come from the presence of the personal element. Disinterestedness may intensify conflict, as we see in scientific controversies in which the issue is the establishment of truth. In such a case every forbearance in exposing the errors of an opponent would be treason to that end for the sake of which the personal element is excluded from the conflict.

In a way, *open opposition preserves society*. Without the power and the right to oppose what we believe to be tyranny, obstinacy, caprice, or stupidity, we should terminate our relations with persons who betray such characteristics. Protest affords relief, gives us the feeling that we are not completely crushed in relationships which otherwise we should find unendurable, and from which we should extricate ourselves at any cost. In any voluntary association the corking up by the dominant element of the protest and opposition of the rest is likely to lead to the splitting of the group. Shrewd statesmen realize that it is well to tolerate criticism of government in Parliament and in the

press as a vaccine against revolt. Free remonstrance is a safety valve, letting off steam which, if confined, might blow up the boiler.

OPPOSITION AND THE FIGHTING GROUP

Opposition between groups hardens and toughens those which can stand the strain. Warfare has been the great state maker. The Eskimos, so pacific that one avenges himself on his enemy by singing satirical verses about him and thereby getting the laugh on him, are quite state-less. The first power to be passed up to a newly formed political union is the *war power*. A foreign war will either make or break a state distracted by factions and internal dissensions. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 unified Japan but shattered Russia. Likewise a hard-fought strike strengthens a labor union if it survives. When a union is in a fight with its employers, it is an easy matter to collect dues and special assessments. Opposition brings out the latent fighting qualities in a union as in an individual and dispels the lassitude which may appear after a long peace.

Every fighting group would, if it could, suck the will out of its members. The State calls it wrong not only for the citizen to prefer his interest to its interest, but for him to put any duty above his duty to it. The Church makes a like demand for unqualified obedience. The labor struggle sharpens class lines. Says Brooks: "I have seen a man wholly unruffled under such words as 'liar,' 'coward' and 'thief,' but the monosyllable 'scab' had an instantaneous effect like a dash of vitriol in the face." Special fighting groups like the Molly Maguires, the Camorra, the Mafia, as well as ordinary bands of law-breakers, demand of their members unlimited self-devotion.

Hence the fighting group is likely to end in some one's vest pocket. Once its directors have succeeded in making it an object of idolatry, *they no longer need to make the group serve its members*. Since the members regard themselves as existing for the group, the heads are free to commit it to any policy, however monstrous or destructive. The outcome of peoples blindly yielding to the insistent demands of their respective governments for patriotic self-sacrifice is needless and meaningless war. State worship is the more dangerous, the less the people control the state. The "our-country,—right-or-wrong" attitude is least harmful under popular government.

Opposition is the very breath of life to the fighting group and often it goes to pieces when it no longer has antagonists. A political party after a too-overwhelming victory is liable to lose its cohesion. The

disappearance of the opposition party soon brings on the break-up of the survivor. Party leaders lament a victory that leaves them with a big, "unwieldly" majority, for they realize that a formidable enemy is the best prop to their party discipline.

KINDS OF OPPOSITION

The chief oppositions which occur in society are between individuals, sexes, ages, races, nationalities, sections, classes, political parties and religious sects. Several such oppositions may be in full swing at the same time, but the more numerous they are, the less menacing is any one. *Every species of conflict interferes with every other species in society at the same time, save only when their lines of cleavage coincide; in which case they reinforce one another.*

Suppose at a given moment there is a certain strain along the line between Christians and Jews. If now, a strain appears along a quite different line, e.g., that between employers and workmen, the religious opposition will be less intense. For Jewish bosses and Jewish workmen will be estranged; likewise Christian bosses and Christian workmen. On the other hand, Jewish and Christian capitalists will recognize that they are "in the same boat," while Jewish workers and Christian workers will sympathize with one another as brother victims of exploitation.

Again, take the case of a tension between blacks and whites: Suppose now embitterment arises between labor and capital. If the lines of cleavage cross, each opposition will weaken the other. But if, as sometimes happens, all the employers are white men and all the employed are black men, then one antagonism helps the other and the rift in society is deeper than ever.

A society, therefore, which is riven by a dozen oppositions along lines running in every direction, may actually be in less danger of being torn with violence or falling to pieces than one split along just one line. For each new cleavage contributes to narrow the cross clefts, so that one might say that society is *sewn together* by its inner conflicts. It is not such a paradox after all if one remembers that every species of collective strife tends to knit together with a sense of fellowship the contenders on either side.

MEANS OF LESSENING THE SUM TOTAL OF OPPOSITION

The principle that, as a rule, the various social oppositions interfere one with the other does not imply that the total opposition within society

is constant, nor that it is a matter of indifference what its volume is.

The fact is, *all* oppositions, save only the healthy rivalries, are not only wasteful of energy, but they prevent coöperation between opponents. The wise have therefore always deplored opposition and have discovered various means of forestalling it.

1. No invidious discriminations. In all save private and domestic relations let a man's color, race, ancestry, religion and politics be ignored.

2. Contrariety of belief and opinion, instead of being taken as proof of perversity, may be looked upon as the natural consequence of individual differences, or of difference in education, occupation, experience or associations. Good-humoredly the differing may "agree to disagree."

3. The fondness of the young for strife on account of its richness in thrills may be lessened by providing them with harmless and amicable forms of contest.

4. Concord may be promoted by the dropping of acrimonious controversy and the adoption by group spokesmen of the objective scientific attitude toward matters of dispute.

5. So far as society equalizes opportunities for the young, strife is less bitter because opponents contend, not for their children's chances, but only for their own.

6. Interests may contend in good humor provided there is not on one side an assumption of superiority and an air of disdain. The one-time *hauteur* of American railroad officials greatly exasperated their complaining patrons, while the nothing-to-arbitrate attitude of employers has helped inflame the working class.

7. In so far as government speaks for all, it enjoys greater moral authority, and it can do more to mollify infra-social struggles.

8. Organized society may prevent a struggle between conflicting interests by prescribing in an impartial spirit their relations. In case their relations do not admit of being thus prescribed from outside, it may equilibrate the contenders by throwing its weight into the scales on the weaker side.

9. Free access of an aggrieved element to some forum—court of law, administrative commission, legislature, electorate—where it may have a fair hearing, is likely to avert bitterness and violence.

10. By preserving freedom of communication society invites the aggrieved to bring their cause before the court of public opinion.

II. Whether discord or harmony is to prevail depends not only upon economic and social conditions, but, in part, upon mental attitudes—whether men accept or reject a religion of brotherhood, regard contention or fellowship as the natural state of man.

OPPOSITIONS MUST COME

Is the stirring up of a spirit of opposition in a social element always to be condemned? Certainly not if there is no other way of removing some oppression or handicap from which that element suffers and which keeps it in a state of backwardness or degradation. The emancipation of American women since the memorable Seneca Falls convention in 1847 was not brought about without inspiring a certain sex antagonism now happily on the wane. It is very unlikely that the emancipation of Oriental women will occur without a transient hostility between the sexes. The position of labor in the social order could not be improved without promoting class consciousness among the wage-earners and marshaling them against their employers.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Contrast struggle on a concave field with struggle on a convex field.
2. Show that better acquaintance does not always lessen hostility.
3. What circumstances are favorable to the perpetuation of feuds?
4. Show that in a way open opposition preserves society.
5. Explain why fighting groups become compact and centralized.
6. Show that generally every kind of opposition in society interferes with every other kind.
7. What is the exception to this rule?
8. What are the means of lessening the total opposition in society?

EXERCISES

80. Was Charles Lamb typical when he said: "I can't hate anybody I know"?
81. What do you think of Ben Franklin's saying, "There never was a good war or a bad peace"?
82. Are those who cast into the social mind such seeds of strife as the doctrines of popular sovereignty, lay control of the church, the separation of church and state, the right of labor to the whole produce, the inevitableness of class struggle, etc., to be hailed as benefactors or condemned as troublemakers?
83. Is it possible for the champions of the established and the advocates of change to fight out the issue without hatred? How?
84. What will determine the verdict of history upon the founders of the I. W. W.?
85. Is the policy, adopted by seven Pacific Slope States, of restricting alien landholding to be commended? Reasons.

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CHAPTER XIII

OPPOSITION—THE GOOD SIDE

THE good side of opposition is that it *stimulates*. Even in strife the extra energy thus evoked may exceed the energy expended. The gain is clearest, however, when the object is not to overcome resistance but simply to excel. The eagerness to *get ahead* is so universal that students of human nature count it among the instincts. Thus Thorndike declares:

Original emulation or rivalry is, in the first place, a group of tendencies to respond more vigorously in trying to get some one's attention upon perceiving a fellow creature's attempts to get it, in chasing some animal upon perceiving a fellow creature chasing it, in pulling toward one's self a thing when a fellow creature is pulling it toward himself, in running toward an object toward which he runs, and the like.

MacDougal avers:

The emulative impulse tends to assert itself in an ever-widening sphere of social life, encroaching more and more upon the sphere of the combative impulse, and supplanting it more and more as the prime mover of both individuals and societies. While the combative impulse leads to the destruction of the individuals and societies that are least capable of self-defence, . . . the natural tendency of the emulative impulse is to preserve, rather than to destroy, defeated competitors; for their regards bring a fuller satisfaction to the impulse.

Many persons achieve their best only when vying, just as a spirited horse makes its best speed when "paced" by another horse. Says Cooley:

Human rivalry appears to have much of this instinctive element in it; to become aware of life and striving going on about us seems to act immediately upon the nerves, quickening an impulse to live and strive in like manner. . . . The motive of rivalry, then, is a strong sense that there is a race going on, and an impulsive eagerness to be in it. . . . Rivalry supplies a stimulus wholesome and needful to the great majority of men, and . . . is, on the whole, a chief progressive force, utilizing

the tremendous power of ambition, and controlling it to the furtherance of ends socially approved. . . .

MEASUREMENT OF THE STIMULUS FROM COMPETITION

This stimulus admits of laboratory measurement. Triplett noted that the records for bicycle riding made in competition averaged $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. faster than the records made against time. A German schoolmaster, Moede, tested seventeen pupils in a class, working individually and working in competition. The eight poorer students did better in competition than alone. The seven better students sometimes did not so well as when alone, although, as a whole, the speed of the class increased. In other kinds of effort the better students were helped by competition, but not so much as poorer students were benefited. In learning by heart the latter were helped eleven times as much as the former. The cause of the difference seems to be that the better pupils work so hard when alone that they are little quickened by rivalry when associated, while the group in some degree disturbs them. The poorer pupils, on the other hand, work with nothing like maximum attention and concentration until association keys them up to do their best.

These experiments were made upon competitors very different in power. In experiments upon two competitors of nearly equal powers, competition always heightened speed, the gain being about 10 per cent. when the two are in keen competition, uncertain as to which will win. On the other hand, *both show a decrease*, when the difference is so great that the conclusion is foregone. The better pupil is enervated by the weakness of the poorer, while the poorer, discouraged at the prospect of sure defeat, is incapable of his best. These experiments seem to justify the old practice of ranging the pupils in a class in a row according to their performance. The dull pupil was stimulated to get by the one next above him and to keep above the one next below him.

MEANS OF GENERALIZING RIVALRY

They also prove the futility of competition between the very unequal. For example, when an athletic contest is open to all students, many feel there is no chance for them and stand by idly watching a few stars compete. Unless they can be drawn in by getting up different contests involving a great variety of aptitudes, they should be formed into a number of graded groups, so that all within the same group are enough alike to be stimulated by competing among themselves.

In the American army camps games were adapted to large numbers. New games were built incorporating movements used in the major sports. The competitive spirit was roused by pitting group against group and awarding points. There is no end to the number of men or groups which can be directed simultaneously. On the same principle business men, in stimulating their selling force, do not award prizes or honors to those men making the biggest sales, because this narrows the contest to the salesmen in "easy" territory. But every man is brought into the contest when careful estimates are made of the coming year's sales in each district and the winners of the competition are the salesmen who most surpass these estimates.

Often the athletic rivalry between high schools breeds nothing but contests between small teams of picked men. The great body of pupils derive from such matches no stimulus to self-improvement. The remedy is a system which spurs each lad to score what points he can in the various athletic events. The sum of these individual scores is the total for the school and this divided by the number of boys enrolled gives the average athletic excellence for that school. In this way school can compete with school, even with those too far away to meet, and every pupil may feel the enlivening prick of rivalry.

Rivalry for physical efficiency may be generalized by giving all pupils who pass the tests engraved certificates, setting forth the record of the individual in the various events. The Public School Athletic Association may give in addition a seal to affix to the certificate; a gold seal for high-grade performance, a blue seal for those attaining a mark between eighty and ninety, and a red seal for a mark between seventy and eighty.

In many schools all of the important hygienic precepts are built into a score card whose aggregate is 100 per cent. The pupils in physiology and biology are expected to check each day the items which they have lived up to and at the end of each half term their average is entered in the teacher's record book. By posting the names of those averaging above 80 per cent. with their averages, a health contest is under way encouraging the best averages, hence the best health.

METHODS OF UTILIZING THE INSTINCT OF RIVALRY

Shrewd athletic directors deliberately stir up rivalry in order to quicken interest in self-development. By means of competitive games and contests they enlist the young, who would accomplish nothing if they were shown gymnasium apparatus and urged to get to work in

order to improve themselves physically. Another method is to encourage comparison of all-round individual efficiency. Perhaps ten tests are given each lad and the results are posted on a special bulletin board. If Johnny sees that Harry is jumping higher or lifting more than he is, he will practise day after day in the hope of beating him the next time the tests are given. He would never work so hard for mere health.

Of late a technique has been worked out for benevolent institutions by which the soliciting of members or contributions becomes a sport. The soliciting force is organized into two divisions, each headed by a general and consisting of a number of "teams" with their captains. The generals pick their captains and the captains pick their workers. The effort is concentrated on a "campaign" to end on a fixed date. Every noon the force lunches together, each team at its own table. After luncheon the captains report and the results of the day's work are chalked up on a big bulletin board. Each worker is racing with every other worker on his team, each team with every other team in the division and each division with the other. The spirit of rivalry is roused just enough to make the distasteful task play but never to the point of leaving disappointment or bitterness in the beaten.

Whether intellectual effort should be stimulated by competition for college honors or election to Phi Beta Kappa is a much-mooted question. After long experience a distinguished schoolman condemns the whole system of incentives as "abnormal, unprofitable, false and immoral. Their entire tendency is to temporary result, to stifle interest, to the recognition of an unnatural means to an end, to the development of the selfish spirit and to dishonest practice, as well as to over-pressure and over-nervous and physical strain." On the other hand, public recognition of the best scholars of each college class is general and few deans doubt its efficacy. Generally the objections relate to abuses, such as taking easy courses in order to win high marks, rather than to the principle of employing rivalry as stimulus. Those who decry emulation as a low motive for study in comparison with interest and thirst for self-improvement do not realize how strong and universal is its appeal.

RIVALRY AS A SOURCE OF MORALE

Toward the end of the World War, the Russian soldiers, having no tradition of active stimulating sports, became the prey of sloth and boredom in the quiet sectors and suffered great moral deterioration.

The English and American soldiers, on the other hand, brought with them an interest in sports and preserved their morale by games and athletic matches. The Young Men's Christian Association workers in the prison camps no doubt saved thousands of war prisoners from moral collapse, melancholia, and death by applying the prick of emulation. Encouraging these half-starved, homesick, miserable captives to organize competitive games calling for strength, skill, and quickness seems a mockery till one marks how the eye kindles, the form straightens, and hope revives as their dejected hearts respond to the challenge of a chance to beat.

STANDARDS GROWING OUT OF RIVALRY PREVENT OVERPOPULATION

Man tends to multiply up to the food limit, at which point all margins for pleasure, beauty, and leisure have been swept into the hopper for the production of population. Almost the only thing that has ever arrested the growth of numbers well inside the food limit is the diversification of wants. The chief motive behind this diversification has been rivalry. At first this, that, or the other thing is wanted for vanity's sake. One thirsts to outshine or outpace others. One cannot endure to be surpassed by another in trophy, ornament or display. In the course of time the new wants acquire a firmer basis. Vanities are pruned till they become comforts and decencies, enter into the inherited standard of living, and become indispensable to self-respect.

SERVICES OF ECONOMIC COMPETITION

Wasteful as economic competition often is, let us not overlook its magical effect upon the business man who has gotten into a rut. An editor who, a dozen years ago, gave his best thought to adapting his newspaper to the needs and tastes of the community has failed to notice how silent, gradual changes have transformed the community's interests. Not until a neighboring journal cuts seriously into his circulation is he roused to the necessity of making over his paper to suit his new constituency. So it is with the manufacturer, the merchant, the railroad man. They are absorbed in routine, become strangers to effortful thinking and fall below their possibilities until the danger of loss of business lashes them into intense mental activity.

In a static time hard work and conscience may suffice to keep one up to the mark. But in a time of rapid development rare is the man who will serve the public best by continuing to work diligently on familiar lines. There is need of changing frequently the character

of one's goods, one's services, one's methods. But few will do this of their own free will. The impulse of the conscientious man is to work hard in the accustomed way. It is not that he is lazy but that he is habit-bound. Nothing but fear of being supplanted by a competitor will goad him to the point of adapting his product to the changed needs of the public.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is there in us that makes opposition stimulating?
2. Show why competition does not stimulate unless the competitors are nearly equal in power.
3. Show how handicapping may serve to generalize rivalry.
4. How has rivalry been used as a source of morale?
5. Show that the growth of population is held in check by the race for social prestige.
6. Illustrate the bracing effect of economic competition.

EXERCISES

86. Is Shakespeare right in saying: "Virtue cannot live out of the teeth of emulation"? *(See Exercise 80.)*
87. What do you think of the saying, "The only competition worthy a wise man is with himself"?
88. Would you wish to see more emulation among clergymen? Among scholars? Reasons.
89. What would you say to working out a score card for Christian missions in China and publishing each year the comparison of each mission's score with that of other missions and with its own score in previous years?
90. How about having universities, city school systems, etc., surveyed at regular intervals by competent outside experts, so that by cross comparison the spirit of emulation may be roused?
91. Is there anything objectionable in substituting the desire to *beat* for the desire *to be well*, as the motive for physical self-development?
92. The Russians have worked out a method of measuring the performance of railway repair shops so that the laborers of shops a thousand miles apart are eagerly competing, conscious that all Russia is looking on. Is this good?

Emulation
Competition

CHAPTER XIV

OPPOSITION—THE BAD SIDE

THERE is in *conflict* as distinguished from wholesome *competition* an element which is altogether bad and deplorable. This may be called Antagonistic Effort, i.e., equal efforts expended in opposite directions, so that A is neutralized by B and B is neutralized by A. It is illustrated in the "tug of war" which often exhausts the rival teams before a decision is reached; in the futile straining of locked wrestlers neither of whom can overcome the other until both are nearly spent; in the interchange of blows by which well-matched pugilists may pound each other into pulp; in the advertising campaigns of competitors which exactly offset each the other but leave them both nearer the poor house; in the alternate price-cutting of two rival producers which pushes them closer and closer to insolvency; in the lawsuits and appeals with which litigious men wear themselves out and in the retaliatory tariffs by which two nations beat each other's commerce to its knees.

CONFLICTS OF ATTRITION

So long as the antagonistic efforts are in balance, nothing is accomplished. All exertions which are promptly met and neutralized by counter-exertions are wasted, for they decide nothing. It is only the margin of superiority that counts. Hence the peculiar ruinousness of opposition which assumes this form. It is exhibited in a railroad "war" when rates are slashed far below the cost of service and both competitors slide slowly toward bankruptcy. The railroad with the longer purse will win; but it may never recoup itself for its losses by higher rates, for the beaten road, though bankrupt, does not cease to be a competitor. It is seen in the costly electioneering campaigns of rival political candidates. The total outlay of time and money may be absurdly out of proportion to the salary of the office they are seeking. Neither would make the canvass could he have foreseen how he would become involved. Yet they plunge deeper and deeper into expense because each realizes that all he has already expended is quite thrown away unless he wins the race. Each is hoping to win by a spurt at the finish, so they go on and on, winded but afraid to quit.

The greater the amount of effort which must be put forth before the telling margin appears, the more costly is the conflict and the greater is the incentive to seek a means of avoiding it. The expenditure of strength and resources in antagonistic efforts may leave both contestants ruined, the victor being no better off than the vanquished. The more clearly they foresee this possibility, the more they will rather compromise than pay the price of fighting to the bitter end. But if one opponent realizes what a struggle is likely to let him in for he will be at a disadvantage in negotiating with one who is blind to the cost of conflict. The former will have to make most of the concessions if the disastrous conflict is to be avoided. In dealing with the clear-sighted, the blindness of the pugnacious may be a trump card.

MOST CONFLICTS COST MORE THAN WAS EXPECTED

As we review the pitiful squandering of human life, strength and resources not only in the wars of nations but also in the struggles between labor and capital, in commercial "wars," in political contests, in lawsuits and in private quarrels, it becomes apparent that the impulses of anger, jealousy and greed should not bear all the blame. Even the cool and calculating enter into a disastrous conflict thinking it will be decided by a sudden thrust or a clever stroke and failing to foresee the long drain on energy which they must endure before a victory can be won. Convinced of superiority, one fails to compute the sacrifices which may lie between superiority and triumph. It is the besetting fallacy of militarists to picture war to their people as a sharp, brief struggle between prepared forces terminating in the victory of the force which is braver, more intelligent or better led. They refuse to recognize how normal it is that war should become an expenditure of antagonistic efforts which wears down the belligerents till both are prostrate.

THE CONVERTIBILITY OF RESOURCES

In general, the more nearly matched are two combatants, the more prolonged and exhausting their conflict is likely to be. Again, the struggle will be prolonged in proportion as their strength is convertible into the particular kind of effort essential to a decision. If citizens can readily be trained into soldiers the conflict does not end when one belligerent has used up his original army but continues until one belligerent approaches the end of his man power or, at least, of his morale. In case the ban on the use of women on the battlefield is

broken down, the final outcome of the conflict will be the same but it will be delayed and the prostration of the belligerents will be more complete when it arrives. If the factories are capable of being speedily converted into munition plants, the war is not decided by original stocks of munitions but becomes a matter of comparative coal, iron, copper, food production, woman power, child power, etc., and may go on until the complete economic collapse of one belligerent.

FORCING A QUICK DECISION

Lest conflict lapse into a process of competitive annihilation opponents strive to force a quick decision. The "winded" pugilist studies how he may deliver a "knock-out" blow. By a secretly planned advertising campaign the business man seeks to bankrupt his competitor before he has time to prepare a counterstroke. The railway company tries to administer a *coup de grace* to a parallel line by cutting fares 80 per cent. at a stroke. Regardless of expense, the litigant puts his cause into the hands of the leader of the bar. The aggressor state plans by surprise attack, by speedier mobilization, by having ready the larger number of trained soldiers or aviators, by accumulating in advance the greater stock of guns, aircraft, or submarines, or by springing some new and, at first, irresistible weapon—forty-two centimeter howitzers, or Zeppelins, or poison gas, or tanks—to win the war before its enemy converts his potential strength into actual strength. Since the conversion of resources into telling effort calls for time, a protracted conflict becomes inevitably one of "attrition" and tends toward the utter prostration or impoverishment of both parties. As a rule it is only the short decisive conflict that does not cost the victor more than victory is worth.

COMPETITIVE PREPAREDNESS

When resources can be converted only slowly into weapons and the combatant wins who gets a broad "running start" over the other, fear begets *competitive preparedness*, which is only another form of antagonistic effort. It is, to be sure, less violent than actual conflict but it may be nearly as exhausting. In the Caucasus the safety tower of each farmstead evidently absorbed more labor than the habitation itself. In Afghanistan the time wasted in standing guard in the sentry tower that overlooks each field exceeds the time spent in tilling the field. In Albania the male, being occupied in protecting his family, is parasitic on the female who alone produces anything. Just as in war each

The forming of alliances limits. To a certain extent, the antagonistic element. Creating of common interests also

OPPOSITION—THE BAD SIDE

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people is duped into believing that *this* levy of troops, *this* big gun armament, *this* "victory" loan will win a decision, forgetting that until the breaking strain arrives its every prodigious exertion is counter-balanced by a corresponding supreme exertion by the enemy, so in peace time they are victimized by the "preparedness" fallacy. They do not notice that their every sacrifice in the way of *more* ironclads, *more* guns, or *more* soldiers becomes the basis of an appeal by the preparedness party in each rival state to insure *its* safety by *more* ironclads, *more* guns, and *more* soldiers. And such sacrifices made by other peoples "for security" become in turn the basis of appeals at home for even greater sacrifices "for security." So the munition makers' game goes merrily on until armament-capping becomes well-nigh as ruinous as war itself. When a people realizes that the major part of what it produces goes into the bottomless pit of competitive preparation and finds such "security" is economically nearly as exhausting as war, it is tempted to attack its rival, in the hope of destroying it and thereby ending an intolerable situation.

THE AVOIDANCE OF ANTAGONISTIC EFFORT

Antagonistic effort is, then, the utterly evil element in conflict. It is a pit into which heedless man is precipitated by his aggressive and self-assertive instincts. It is the lurking devil which all glorifiers of war and struggle overlook. It is the Adversary baffling, betraying, and tormenting a too-pugnacious and too-sanguine race. It devastates society as its counterpart, hatred, devastates the soul. Small wonder, then, that the supreme concern of all seers, prophets and founders of religion has been to draw mankind away from hatred and strife into the paths of amity and peace.

It is possible, however, to eliminate or curb this noxious feature without suppressing contest itself. Intercollegiate athletics may be kept from degenerating into a matching of purses by barring players who receive financial inducement to attend college and by so limiting the training period as to avoid an excessive loss of time in preparation. The anti-intellectual tendencies in public joint debate are held in check by rules forbidding "personalities" and excluding everything foreign to the question. The law denies appeal from a court decision when the value in dispute is small. Party managers agree to buy no votes. Laws which limit the amount of campaign expenditure save opposing candidates from ruining themselves in a political contest or becoming bound to selfish moneyed interests which contribute to both parties.

Rival railroads agree to close their needless downtown offices. "Legalized pooling" or commission-fixing of *minimum* as well as *maximum* rates restrain them from rushing into receivership *via* rate "wars." After a series of industrially lean years caused by "cut-throat" competition among producers the game of "beggar-my-neighbor" ends in a "combination" or in the absorption of all the weaker firms by the financially strongest. Missionary boards come to the understanding that none will plant a mission in a native center where a Christian mission already exists. Rival colleges avoid the waste of circularizing the same constituency or cultivating the same secondary schools by dividing territory if they are far apart or by specializing in different lines if they are near each other.

Finally, war-worn exhausted states may do what has been done hundreds of times by jarring communities—form an organization for peace, create tribunals, with power to decide disputes, renounce their armaments and relinquish their liberty to make war at will.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by "antagonistic effort"?
2. Show why the blindness of the pugnacious gives him an advantage in negotiation.
3. Why do opponents rarely foresee the drain conflict will lead to?
4. How does the convertibility of resources prolong conflict?
5. Why do opponents try to force a quick decision?
6. Show that competitive preparedness is but a form of antagonistic effort.
7. How may the expenditure of antagonistic effort be limited?

EXERCISES

93. Show that modern government is more capable of summoning forth the entire strength of its people than previous types of government.
94. Is there any reason for supposing that, more and more, loss is the portion of both antagonists in a conflict?
95. Is the formation of women's "battalions of death" something to be encouraged in all the nations? Reasons.
96. Why are secret preparation and surprise attacks likely to become the regular thing among the nations?
97. Expose the "preparedness" fallacy.

We have more things in common today. Inter dependence brings us closer together

CHAPTER XV

wed. 29th

PERSONAL COMPETITION

COMPETITION implies the seeking of the favor of certain individuals or bodies with reference to a single desirable object by two or more persons. Even alternative attractions, e.g., different religions, systems of law, types of education, or ideals of life, which make their appeal to the same people, may be said to compete. Competition resembles a race rather than a fight, for in a fight it is quite proper to knock out your opponent; but tripping your rival in a race is regarded as bad sportsmanship.

Unlike emulation, the aim of competition is not simply *to win*, but *to win something in itself desirable*.

THE FUNCTION OF COMPETITION

Although competition for customers, or patrons, or clients, or subscribers, or employment, or office, or for friends and backers, is prompted by personal aims, it discharges the broad social function of assigning to each his place in the social system. Since we do not come into the world with our future calling stenciled on the forehead, we discover what we are fit for by experimenting. By a series of competitions we test the impression we make on others, rate our powers in terms of other men's powers, and determine whether or not we may aspire to the better jobs. Competition in this sense need not be conscious or contentious. From our school days on judgments are formed about us of which we are unaware, but which go to determine our careers. For example, several men may be under consideration for the same appointment. Their entire record is scrutinized so they are made competitors throughout their past, although at the time they were not in the least conscious of it.

The chief alternative to competition as a means of assigning each his place is *hereditary status*. In the later Roman Empire the well-placed families protected their position by allowing none to aspire to a calling above his father's. In Prussia, before the Emancipation Edict of 1807, both lands and occupations were built into the caste system.

“Noble” land could not be bought by non-nobles, nor “peasant” land by non-peasants. Neither noble nor peasant could take up occupations which belonged to the burgher class. In India to-day the principal occupations are in the hands of hereditary castes and it is expected that the son of the village priest, smith, or accountant will succeed to his father’s office.

This artificial system clashes so harshly with the natural desire to get on and is so repugnant to popular ideas of justice, that it must have come into existence as the device of those in the higher offices and occupations to relieve their children from the competition of the children of the lower-placed.

THE INTENSITY OF COMPETITION

The relative amount of activity absorbed in the selective process measures the *intensity* of competition. In a stationary society where, as a rule, children stick where they were born and follow the occupation of their father, where certain trades are reserved for certain castes, where the great places in the state are hereditary and elections unknown, where peasant may not vie with burgher or burgher with retainer or retainer with lord, a man spends little energy in finding his place. Where, on the other hand, as in the United States, at least a third of native adults are found by the census in some other than their natal state, where a large proportion have tried some other occupation than the one they follow, where schools are free and skill is not ordinarily acquired from one’s father, where protected occupations do not exist and where politics is an absorbing interest, the expenditure of energy in placement will be relatively large.

The intensity of competition varies

1. With the degree of personal liberty.
2. With the rate of social change.
3. Inversely as the efficiency of the selective agents.

The freer the individual to roam about, set up in this calling or that, try for the better-paid or more honorable offices and get a decision on his merits, the less often one encounters racial, religious, or class discrimination, the prompter are customers or clients or patients in transferring their patronage; the more frequently the well-established will be subjected to the competition of outsiders, and the harder must they exert themselves to keep from being ousted.

Again, *social change* opens new opportunities to many who fancy themselves settled. The automobile industry has in fifteen years absorbed half a million Americans, few of whom inherited or stumbled into their jobs. In the same time the new profession of play director has given employment to ten thousand young men and women, nearly every one of whom has been placed by competition. The creation of a vast army for the World War set hundreds of thousands of young Americans vying to settle which of them should obtain military commissions.

The better the selective agencies the more quickly, economically, and accurately competitors are sifted. The time will come when an hour with graded tests of mental ability will fix applicant's caliber far better than a bushel of estimates by his acquaintances. Compare the cost of trying for a political appointment under the old system of "influence" with its cost under the merit system. Or consider that candidates will spend on a political contest as much as the entire salary of the office comes to. Two men running for the office of county superintendent of schools will waste perhaps two months of their time electioneering. If the selective agency were a competent board of education, the tax on their time might not exceed two days.

Systems of education which discover and develop the special capabilities of each individual as well as offer specialized training for each calling enable choices among competitors to be prompt and just. Likewise, the laying down of definite requirements for those who would follow teaching, nursing, law, accountancy, etc., saves much fumbling and disappointment.

RESTRICTIONS UPON THE METHODS OF COMPETITION

Without binding rules or accepted standards competition assumes extravagant or vicious forms. In the commercial sphere the wastes from competitive publicity, window-dressing, salesmanship and delivery have been long recognized and go far to reconcile us to the replacement of competition by combination. Courts and administrative boards have banned a great number of practices as "unfair" because they tend to the success of the inferior caterer to the wants of the public. The criterion is whether the practice contributes in the long run to supplying the consumers with the greatest abundance of good wares or services at the lowest cost. By this are condemned local price-cutting, the operation of bogus "independent" concerns, the use of "fighting" brands,

rebates and preferential arrangements, exclusive sale or purchase arrangements, conditional requirements, espionage, coercion and intimidation, black-lists, and interference with the contracts and business of competitors.

Among workingmen "scabbing" and strike-breaking, pace-making and tattling are reprobated as methods of making a "hit" with the management. On the other hand, it is accounted legitimate for the workingman to court promotion by showing superior skill, devising better tools or processes, or making valuable suggestions.

No honorable doctor or lawyer will advertise, solicit employment, pay commissions for business, undertake cases on a contingent fee, show a client how to beat the law, or give him advice which is immoral or anti-social in its tendency. Aside from the reputation of satisfying his patrons, he has no legitimate way of bringing his merits to the attention of the public other than scholarly activity in his profession or free work for needy individuals or for the community.

RESTRICTIONS ON ELECTIONEERING

With popular government has come a need of defining what constitutes improper electioneering. Vote-buying, personation, treating voters, betting in order to influence an election, deceiving illiterate voters, contributing to churches or charitable institutions during a campaign, providing conveyances for voters, forging campaign literature, publishing false statements of the withdrawal of candidates, keeping electors from the polls, intimidating electors, influencing employees—these and other pernicious practices of political contestants have been prohibited either because they drive good men out of politics or because they enable a minority candidate to win.

THE BASIS OF APPOINTMENT TO OFFICE

Long ago *nepotism* fell into bad odor. Then *patronage*, the right of private irresponsible individuals to name office-holders, came under a cloud. Afterward was challenged the awarding of offices for *party work* or *party contributions*. The *merit* system of recruiting civil servants, under which applicants are rated according to training, experience, and proficiency, as revealed by examination, raises the plane of competition and improves the quality of office-holders. Many who aspired under the *spoils* system now have no prospect and many who formerly had no prospect now aspire.

THE BASIS OF PROMOTION

In private business the superior, on account of his presumed personal interest in the success of the enterprise, has generally been free to promote whom he would. But in large concerns, where the superior is often a salaried man and not financially interested, his choice is likely to be affected by family, social standing and personal liking. Here, as in the public service, "free promotion" often gives the relative, the fawner or the wire-puller the advantage over the modest man of worth. On the other hand, where, as in church or university, promotion goes by group or collegiate choice, there is less chance for "influence."

The great rival principle is that of *seniority*. This is simple and certain and leaves no room for favoritism and prejudice. It prevails in nearly all armies and navies, because the officers are not greatly dissimilar in ability and training, while length of experience is of great importance. Its principal merit, however, is that it insures that the loyalty and obedience of subordinates shall not be impaired by the jealousies and resentments which spring up like devil grass when promotion appears to be arbitrary. In the civil service it has less place, but it finds favor with all unions of government employees because more complicated systems lend themselves to manipulation. American railroads after futile attempts to install a system of efficiency ratings have been forced by the organizations of their employees to promote on the seniority principle.

However, it is a *deadening* principle. Not only is the oldest man in point of service not necessarily the most efficient, but, by checking competition for promotion, it takes away one incentive for acquiring efficiency. Furthermore, by putting age in the saddle, it subjects society to the reign of blind conservatism. The open-mindedness, enthusiasm, and decision of young men are needed to break the crust of custom continually forming in society. Under a system of promotion by seniority only rarely is it possible for a young man to attain to a responsible position. Hence, the attempt is being made to work out some scheme of efficiency ratings by which the employee makes as he goes along the record on which one day will be decided whether he or another shall be advanced to greater responsibility or reward. It is agreed by all that it is possible to promote on a basis which will stimulate efficiency, yet work to the satisfaction of the force.

THE PRINCIPLE OF RELEVANCY

May rival colleges in their circulars make invidious comparisons? May the theater owner with propriety call the public's attention to the greater fire risk of a rival place of amusement? Is it "hitting below the belt" for a baking-powder manufacturer in advertising to cast doubt on the wholesomeness of other brands? Is it "foul" for an applicant to submit truthful matter reflecting on the qualifications or worthiness of another applicant? May the Protestant and the Catholic clergy proselytize from each other, or shall they confine themselves to winning the unchurched? The answer is that the judgment of a competitor is so subject to bias that invidious comparisons by him should be ruled out. Generally "war to the knife" between rivals proves ruinous to both good morals and good manners.

The general principle to follow in drawing the line between proper and improper methods is *relevancy*. Men have a just horror of "political influence" in official circles, but do not object to learned bodies and institutions being heard from when it comes to filling an important post calling for technical knowledge. Their influence is *relevant* to the problem. The physician may not advertise, for self-laudation in print is *irrelevant* to merit. Not so is his appointment as lecturer in the faculty of the local medical college. It is *relevant* for preparatory schools to list the institutions which admit their graduates on certificate and to call attention to the performance of these graduates in college and university. Boastful comparisons are *irrelevant* to the competition of religious denominations, which ought rather to be decided by the type of character which they produce in their members. The awarding of public office on the basis of services to the political party is intolerable, because party work is *irrelevant* to the successful conduct of the office.

In other words, we resent a success won by some other prowess than the one called for. We are disgusted by the fight that becomes a "foot-race" and by the foot-race that becomes a fight, by the slugging match that becomes a "joint debate" and the joint debate that becomes a slugging match. We resent that social tact irrespective of scholarship should govern a university appointment and equally that scholarship irrespective of social tact should govern a diplomatic appointment.

irrelevant - not fair.
Algebra is given to sociology
class irrelevant -

COMPETITION AND MORALS

It depends chiefly upon the kind of practices tolerated whether or not a competition will lower those who take part. If paid puffery, kowtowing, assurance, blowing your own trumpet, female influence and such like regularly win, then the field will be abandoned by every one who will not stoop to such methods. The greater the number of attractive fields in which such methods prevail, the greater the proportion of ambitious young people who will relinquish their high standards and sink to a lower moral level. It is of little avail for parents to plant moral scruples in their children if in many of the alluring arenas of competition success is seen going to the tricky and ingratiating. Let clergymen take note that *raising the plane of competition* may accomplish quite as much in saving souls as successful evangelism.

In the early frontier communities and in certain isolated American communities to-day biting and gouging are accepted methods of fighting. In earlier American political contests, "rough-and-tumble" was the rule, while rival newspapers resorted to a scurrility now unknown. In old societies, on the other hand, the recognized forms of competition are hemmed in by standards, so that in most arenas honorable young men may compete without losing their self-respect. The rearing of a ring fence about every competition indicating just what is and what is not permitted is a moral achievement which takes time. These restraints originate with the better element in society, the capable, the sensitive, the high-spirited, in a word, with the *élite*, and only slowly do they find one another out and arrive at a consensus. No young society has such restraints any more than it has mossy manses and ivy-clad church towers.

COMPETITION AND SYMPATHY

There is no fatal connection between competition and hostility. In a society like ours, where any man may try to be anything, there will be much disappointment but not necessarily much hard feeling. A graduate of a law school joins the bar of a town with a score of lawyers. At the end of a year or two he may have to give up the law, but very likely he cannot hold any particular competitor responsible for his shipwreck. So it is with business men. The failure realizes he has been eliminated by general conditions rather than by a rival.

Even when the loser of a competition knows the winner he need not hate him, provided that the competition has taken place under

reasonable rules, which have been loyally observed. Bitterness there will be when one believes that the rules have not been lived up to by one's rivals or that one is the victim of malicious discrimination. In large organizations there will be bad blood if it is suspected that favor governs promotions. If, on the other hand, the patently efficient man is promoted, the congratulations and good will of his competitors may go with him as he rises. In the field of college sports the most intense rivalry to "make the team" will not generate personal bitterness provided that the coach is competent. In case justice rules the competitive struggle, people, who have absorbed much of the spirit of sportsmanship, will attribute their failures to something in themselves.

THE LIMITS TO COMPETITION

In Japan the code of the *jinrikisha* men forbids one runner to pass by another going in the same direction. The young is not to dash past the old lest the latter be so much the sooner eliminated from the calling. When you have had a house built in Japan you have entered into a relation which cannot lightly be broken off. Whatever repairs may be needed during the life of the house must be arranged for with your builder, never with anybody else. None but he has the right to send for the plasterer, the roofer, the tinsmith. So is it with a garden. The maker looks after it season after season and no other gardener can be hired to touch it unless assured that the original relation has been dissolved by mutual consent.

Such muffling of competition survives from the old communal organization of Japan. Relentless competition is welcomed only in a young society that has not yet learned to take the long view. With ripeness comes the recognition of limits to competition. Certain great American railroads have deliberately adopted the policy of not replacing elderly servants with younger and more vigorous men but retaining them until they are superannuated and retire on a pension. Some of their employees are past their peak of efficiency, but, on the other hand, by holding out the prospect of a life career these companies attract a higher grade of ability than the same money would command under a ruthless system.

What irony that, at a time when intelligent business men are striving to build up a stable and loyal force, university presidents who have been bitten by the efficiency bug or imbibed the inhumane spirit of high finance recommend that professors be replaced as soon as the university has skimmed off the cream of their strength! The tendency

of our time is just the other way—attracting good men by holding out a certain life career instead of throwing them away like squeezed lemons at the end of their prime, without caring what becomes of them. Ease of mind is a condition of mental and especially originaive work and this condition cannot be realized without security of tenure.

Society will reap all the advantages of competition if every man until thirty or thirty-five years of age is liable to be passed or ousted by a better man. But after this probationary period it is well to consider a man's value to the employer as settled and to make him feel safe from displacement so long as he continues to "make good."

The intimate confidential relation which grows up between patient and practitioner—resulting in the trusted "family physician"—muffles competition, to be sure, but few would care to see it disappear. The same is true of the assumption of permanency in the relation between pastor and flock. No doubt the clergyman who, after some experience, settles into a life pastorate is happier and gives his parishioners better service than if he held a quick succession of pulpits. On the other hand, professional men without a permanent or responsible employer—such as newspaper men and stage people—are exposed to the full force of competition with the young and after their powers begin to decline their lot is often tragic.

As the principle of security of tenure becomes established appears inevitably the "dead line." If it is taken as a matter of course that the employer—church, university, corporation, or state—will retain the faithful servant during his declining years, the employer will naturally insist that it must in return have him for most of his prime. If clergymen and others find increasing difficulty in obtaining permanent placement after the age of forty-five, it is not that the employer is harder-hearted but that employment entails heavier responsibilities.

Old-age pensions or allowances follow quite logically upon the policy of undisturbed tenure. The time comes when it is cheaper to retire the old servant on half or third pay than to continue paying his former salary for services of little worth.

While competition thus happily is being mitigated for certain groups of brain workers, it is a shame that the great army of manual laborers should be afforded no shelter whatever from the competition of the younger and more active. Something might be done to stabilize employment by a law requiring the employer to pay the employee dismissed without fault a dismissal wage proportionate to the length of time he had been in the employer's service.

The question may be raised whether the tempering of competition in the interest of those established is not a discrimination on behalf of age against more efficient youth. But the policy may be justified even to the young. Their being held back a little may be looked upon as the payment of premiums for insurance to protect their own inevitable period of decline. For example the young scholar at thirty might well take over the professorship of the scholar of sixty. But the old scholar holds his chair until he reaches the age of sixty-five and the young man continues five years more as assistant professor before the chair falls to him. When he in turn reaches the point of declining energy the rule will now work to his advantage. On the whole, then, has the blunting of competition helped him or hurt him? Viewing his life as a whole, one can hardly doubt that he makes a good bargain when by foregoing his early supplanting of the older man he saves himself in turn from being supplanted at a time of life when check or discouragement may be fatal.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is the great function of personal competition?
2. Upon what does the intensity of competition chiefly depend?
3. By what means is personal competition restricted?
4. Compare "fitness" and seniority as principles of promotion.
5. What is the principle of Relevancy?
6. What is meant by "raising the plane of competition"?
7. Show that competition need not engender ill-will.
8. Show that in some degree competition has to be limited for the sake of stability.

EXERCISES

98. Two boys are equally crippled for life in an accident due to the negligence of the railway company. One is the son of a day laborer, the other the son of a successful business man. Shall the damages awarded on the basis of injury to presumed future earning power be equal or unequal?
99. Should admission to a profession be on examination, on diploma from an approved professional school, on either, or on both?
100. Should a trade commission (state or federal) be empowered to suppress advertising which is untruthful, misleading, or against public policy?
101. Why have the better sportsmen put the repeating shotgun under the ban?
102. If you were to put the rules of a racing association of to-day alongside those of fifty years ago how do you suppose they would compare in number and detail?
103. How would the development of psychological tests, determining in advance whether or not an individual is fitted to meet the requirements of a particular occupation, affect the amount of ill-will generated by personal competition?

CHAPTER XVI

CLASS STRUGGLE

CCLASS struggle springs out of interference of economic interests aggravated usually by the fact that one class holds itself higher than the other and assumes to dominate. It is precipitated by an economic or technological change which throws up a new class or threatens to ruin an old one. The Roman public land, the spoil of conquest, brought on the struggles with which the Gracchi were identified. Later the saturation of Italy with enslaved war captives called forth the convulsive efforts of the dying small-husbandman class. Cheap access to foreign breadstuffs led, eighty years ago, to the struggle between the landlords of England and the factory lords over the question of the "corn laws." In the closing decade of the last century the appreciation of gold precipitated among us a struggle between debtor and creditor groups which quickly died down when, after 1897, gold began to depreciate. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin near the end of the eighteenth century caused an immense cotton-planting interest to grow up in our South about African slavery, which until then seemed to be waning. A low price for agricultural produce resulting from too-rapid bringing of Western public lands under cultivation caused the Middle Western farmers such hardship half a century ago that they locked horns with the nearest group which might be held responsible for their plight, namely the railroads.

On the other hand, there are economic developments which relieve tension. The drive of manufacturers for a high protective tariff weakens when some of them who invade foreign markets with their goods begin to care more for "free" raw materials than for "protection" to their product. The spread of rural coöperation may put an end to the outcry of small farmers lest they be swallowed up by large capitalistic farming. Coöperative stores may end the friction between the public and the retail merchants. With a fuller knowledge of the conditions of factory efficiency intelligent employers drop voluntarily certain exploitive policies which peculiarly exasperate their workers.

ALTERNATION OF SOCIAL PEACE WITH SOCIAL STRIFE

A class struggle is too exhausting to be let run on forever. As a rule it leads to an adjustment in customs, moral standards, institutions, law, or the constitution of the state. Each class gains a part of what it has contended for, so that the opposition dies away. Ere long this adjustment is accepted as if it were a part of the order of Nature, and later generations can hardly conceive of any other arrangement. But the hour strikes when some economic or technological change ruptures this concord and class strife breaks out afresh. This in turn may lead to anarchy, alternating revolutions, foreign intervention or domination, or else to a new adjustment ushering in another June of social tranquillity.

Effect of peace
Effect of conflict
 In the course of a long period of social peace the consciousness of class fades, national or cosmopolitan feeling becomes strong, and society is deemed an outgrowth of natural fellowship and the spirit of coöperation. Morals, law and state are regarded as consistent one-piece creations of conscience or reason. Conversely, a period of sharp conflict establishes the idea that society is not born of good will, but is the arena of contending groups which, however, have more to gain by sticking together than by going asunder. The social order is looked upon as a balance of opposing forces, while laws and institutions are seen as compromises rather than products of logic.

TACTICS AND WEAPONS OF CLASS STRUGGLE

In order to win the support of other elements each class camouflages its self-interest in the struggle by standing for some high-sounding principle or broad social interest. The landed proprietors demand the shutting out of cheap foreign-grown foodstuffs in order that a rugged rural population be preserved as the nation's reservoir of potential military strength. The feudal lords never admit that they covet the fruits of other men's toil, but ever harp upon their willingness to die for "throne and altar." Landlords confronted by a tenants' union set themselves up as defenders of the rights of all property-owners. Manufacturers solemnly declare that their sole purpose in seeking high tariff protection is to be able to pay "an American wage." To beat the labor unions employers pose as champions of "industrial freedom," as unselfish upholders of the "open shop" principle that the workman may work where and for whom he pleases and under such conditions as he deems fit. In resisting the demand for a legal working day they profess

disinterested solicitude for the freedom of the wage-earner to contract for such length of day as may seem good to him. Workingmen pressing for the exclusion of Oriental low-wage labor assume the noble rôle of protectors of Christian civilization against the heathen. The wealthy resist progressive taxation, not frankly because it would flatten their purses, but on the ground that it would "penalize industry and thrift."

Each class kindles the fighting spirit of its members by shrieking that its very existence is at stake, or by circulating shameless lies relative to what members of the opposing class have said, or attempted, or done. If possible, it makes an economic thrust at its opponent. Landlords evict tenants who will not pay the higher rental demanded. Tenants reply by agreement not to pay the higher rental and to rent no premises from which a tenant has been evicted. Workmen strike; employers lockout or blacklist. Farmers build their own grain elevators and stockpens. Manufacturers' associations obtain an ordinance against picketing and menace with ruin any employer who signs an agreement with union labor or runs a closed shop. Workingmen by refusing to work alongside non-union men compel them to join the organization. By union labels a special market is created for goods of the "fair" employer, and by sympathetic strike the employer who uses "scab" product is embarrassed, or by boycott the market for his products is curtailed.

Each side has its spies to worm out the secrets of the other. Workingmen intimidate non-strikers and beat strike-breakers or else hire sluggers to do it. Employers hire gunmen, mine guards, and watchmen to beat up labor leaders and provoke violence. They make "plants" of explosives in order to "get something" on the labor leaders. Bomb outrages are met by deportations. Each side gets together funds to defend its own law violators and to convict the law violators of the other side. If public sympathy or support is decisive, then the fighting class embarks on a campaign to win the favor of the public. It pleads the rightfulness of its claims, demonstrates that they are identical with broad social interests and brands its opponents as predatory, lawless, and desperate. In case the class has political representation and can gain some of its ends *via* politics, it establishes a political front and logrolls with other groups.

THE STAKES OF CLASS STRUGGLE

In the *economic* field the strife of classes rages about rentals, length of lease, ownership of tenant's improvements, prerogatives of landlord, wages, length of the working day, Sunday labor, avoidable risk in indus-

try, "speeding up," method of payment, collective bargaining, the closed shop.

In the *social* field it involves recognition of the union, methods of hiring and "firing," shop discipline, and the question of the workers' share in management.

In the *political* field it concerns itself with:

a. Constitutional rights, franchise, sharing of offices, appointment or election of officials, remedies for their misconduct, selection and powers of representatives, rights of assemblage, of association, free speech, free press, etc., composition of army and courts, position of church and school in the State.

b. Class privileges and their abolition. Equality before the law.

c. Distribution of public lands, of landed property, of taxes, of tariff benefits; rights of property, of inheritance, of contract, vested rights, legal position of master, of employer, of creditor; nationalization of industries.

FACTORS WHICH AGGRAVATE CLASS CONFLICT

1. In case the opposing classes include nearly everybody there is no great impartial public to appeal to. The issue lies with the interested parties themselves, which means that not argument will settle it, but force or threat of force.

2. The interests of two classes may be so blent that either can inflict upon the other great harm. In this case there is a prompt and unscrupulous resort to drastic measures in order to end an intolerable situation. Compare a mine strike or a dock strike with a mill strike.

3. When one of the classes predominates in the state, the opposing class expects no consideration from legislatures, courts, or officials. Conscious that the cards are stacked against it, it renounces agitation and from the very outset contemplates rough measures.

4. Inequality of classes before the law and the enjoyment by one class of the right to vote or to hold office, while the members of the opposing class lack these rights.

5. The denial to an aggrieved class of free speech, free press, free assemblage, free association, and the right of petition destroys its hope of obtaining redress by lawful means and makes it feel that any means are justified if they promise success.

6. Control by the intrenched class of the agencies for forming public opinion and influencing the action of the public authorities—the newspapers, the churches, the schools, the clubs, the commercial

organizations, the party machinery, the platform, polite society—so that the spokesmen of the aggrieved class are cried down and ridiculed, stigmatized as malicious disturbers, wanton trouble makers, adventurers, or professional agitators, while their utterances are twisted and garbled so as to appear foolish, monstrous, or dangerous. When one side can get no fair hearing, it dispenses with appeal to the general sense of right and seizes the weapons at hand.

7. Differences in social level, betraying the “better” element into a display of contempt and arrogance which the humbler class bitterly resents.

8. When there are no paths from the inferior up to the superior class, the members of the former may present a solid front, since none of them cherishes the hope of rising some day into the envied class, or seeing his son do so.

9. Loss of religious faith or cultural interests and growth of materialism sharpen oppositions which arise out of clash of economic interests.

10. Weakening of the spiritual ties which hold together and restrain classes whose material interests collide. Such are race-unity, remembrance of common descent, religious fellowship, pride in a common past, patriotism, faith in the nation’s mission, and devotion to ideal social aims.

FACTORS WHICH MITIGATE CLASS CONFLICT

1. A popular war tends to close social seams and chasms. Patriotism triumphs over class egoism. In the same way common oppression, as in the case of Poles and Bohemians, is a social binder and delays the growth of class spirit.

2. Any riving of society along other lines—racial, tribal, sectional, creedal—lessens its cleavage along the line of class.

3. Class contention abates to the degree that other goods or chances than those contended for come into the focus of attention. Lazarus fraternizes with Dives if abundant opportunities of improving his lot are opened up by conquest, state colonization, emigration, or easy access to public lands. The pushing outward of national frontiers, the discovery of rich and accessible gold deposits, the opening of new markets, the rapid industrial development resulting from heavy investments of capital, damp class strife.

4. The switching of interest to *non-economic* varieties of good allays the strife between Haves and Have-nots. When men imagine a rosy

future to be won by ridding themselves of wasteful or weakening vices or by achieving good health through the practice of personal hygiene, their minds are taken off questions of wages and profits. The gospel of "Cut out booze!" soothes labor. Like reaction to wars, calamities, adventures, heroic deeds, athletic contests, momentous inventions and discoveries unites classes which are being thrust apart by economic developments.

5. Class strife is damped by the shifting of attention to spiritual blessings, which are never "a bone of contention" because there is always "enough to go around." Employers do well to finance the evangelist with the message, "Get right with God!" The rich have good reason to want the masses to be deeply concerned about "salvation."

6. An exploited class may be kept inert, provided there are enough ladders by which those who would agitate and lead it may climb out of their class. The American labor movement was retarded by the fact that the frontier afforded haven to the strong discontented spirits among the wage-earners—the natural leaders who would have welded and wielded their class had they stayed with it. Then, too, in an early day there was a chance for a workingman to "get ahead" and become an employer. The ending of free land and the concentration of industry in the last decade of the nineteenth century closed these exits. Here is the secret of the great growth of class consciousness among wage-earners in the last twenty-five years.

Knighthood or ennoblement of a few successful commoners has a magical effect in tranquilizing a commonalty. Educational opportunities, politics, access to the professions, facilitate the escape, from peasantry or working class, of individuals who would have been its inspirers, organizers, and leaders. Moreover, for one who escapes upward there will be ten hopers making no outcry over their lot. There is, then, nothing like *diffusion of opportunity* to keep questions of social justice from being raised.

7. Undoubtedly the practice of charity, the relief of distressed members of one class by philanthropic members of the opposing class, has a mollifying effect. A great capitalist testifying in 1914 before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations said, "If it were not for what has been done and what is being done we would have revolution in this country."

8. As society becomes complex there are more on-lookers to inject impartial mediating opinion into class struggles. The conflict between proprietors and laborers has become like a law suit before a jury, owing

to the rise of the liberal professions, the coming up of the "fourth estate," i.e., the newspapers, the formation of an army of educators, and the appearance of a corps of independent molders of opinion—writers, lecturers, and artists. This causes the issue to turn less on economic or physical power and more on reason and justice. Still, there is no denying that such juror groups as newspapermen, lawyers, and engineers, are more or less dependent on the capitalists.

9. The social tension is relieved when Law and State rise above the suspicion of being the tool of any class. As umpire the democratic state sees to it that the opposed classes fight it out according to the rules laid down. Consequently one thinks as citizen rather than member of a class. A study of the votes on the twenty-six most radical social-reform measures which in five years were submitted to the voters of Oregon shows that in four cases out of five capitalists and laborers voted alike.

10. The submission of the pleas and claims of contending classes to the *objective scientific investigation* of government and private bureaus and of university scholars is another hopeful modern tendency. It blunts the weapons of falsehood, camouflage, and sophistry, enforces closer agreement between the classes in their assertion of fact and strengthens the side less able to state its case.

THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES IN MODERN SOCIETY

The modern "social" question has been created neither by labor agitators nor by capitalist greed. It arose inevitably out of the development of machine industry. About the middle of the eighteenth century began a series of inventions which caused the textile industry to be translated from the worker's home or shop to the factory. Instead of owning his tools he worked the machinery owned by others and became a wage-earner. Since then the factory system has extended to branch after branch of manufacturing, until the handicraft system is dead and we are committed without reserve to industrialism.

Moreover, in nearly all branches the mass of equipment utilized in aid of production has enormously increased. The volume of capital per worker is constantly greater and from this flow very interesting consequences. To-day when a hundred cotton-mill operatives strike they tie up perhaps ten times as much capital as a hundred operatives who struck eighty years ago. Stoppage is ten times as costly to the capitalist as it used to be and therefore he is more restless when tied up by a strike and resorts to ~~more~~ ruthless measures to break the strike.

The strikers realize this and become heedless of public interests in their endeavor to foil the strike-breakers. Of necessity, then, the parties to the labor conflict tend to become more reckless and lawless in their tactics.

Along with the growing prominence of the capital equipment, goes a tendency toward larger production units. Every census shows that the average plant in almost every branch contains more capital and employs more men. Automatically this diminishes the importance of the individual workman to the employer and augments the importance of the employer to the workman. In a ten-man shop, the employer loses one-tenth of his force and of his profit, if one disgruntled workman quits him. In a hundred-man shop, he loses only one per cent., so that, as units grow, the protesting workman is less and less considered. On the other hand, the bigger the units, the fewer, so that it becomes less likely that the workman, without changing his residence, can find another factory in his line to employ him.

This automatic belittlement of the individual wage-earner gives rise to an irresistible movement toward the organization of labor. Those who work in factories not theirs, with machines not theirs, on materials not theirs, under conditions they have no voice in determining, and turn out a product that belongs to some one else, discover that they have an interest in common. Only when combined can they compel the employer to pay heed to their grievances and claims. The union of the employees of a single concern may equalize them with their employer as respects power to inflict loss, but it does not equalize the two parties in respect to holding-out power. Hence, the workers unite themselves into wide unions in order to insure themselves financial support during a strike.

The hope cherished a generation ago that by coöperative production the workers would in time come to own the equipment with which they work has quite withered. There is no prospect whatever that the ownership of industrial capital will be disseminated through the working class. On the contrary, there is a clear tendency toward the concentration of wealth. The parties interested in machine industry more and more segregate into two groups very unequal in size—the capitalists, who contribute no personal exertion to industry, and the much larger body of workers, who may own their homes but hold merely a trifling amount of share capital.

Since the capital factor in industry constantly expands, the share of the total product going to ownership grows. The time may come when

half or two-thirds of the social income will be claimed in the name of property. Moreover, less and less is this sharing automatic. It is affected by the temper of the workers, their degree of organization, their feeling about their union, the state of the law, the spirit of the courts, the attitude of public officials, the tone of the press, the pulpit, and the platform, and the tenor of the instruction of the young. Hence, the more active portion of the capitalist class endeavors to spread over society an invisible net of control. The class has lost most of its political defenses—hereditary upper houses, restricted suffrage, indirect election, party control, the unlimited use of money in politics—but it is not without secret compensating gains. The agitation for the total overthrow of private capitalism and the substitution of an untried public capitalism naturally alarms capitalists and stimulates their endeavors to control opinion. As quietly they draw together and develop weapons and tactics to repel attack, their leaders and agents become more formidable, not only to attackers, but to inoffensive individuals and interests which stand in their way. So the capitalist class not only defends itself, but aggresses at a time when aggression is madness. This is why the position of social-minded persons identified with neither class, who wish to investigate and consider until it becomes clear what economic system will be best for society as a whole, becomes constantly more difficult. Industrialism, child of the power-driven machine, molds society with appalling power and causes its members more and more to cluster at opposite poles of the social spindle. The situation is grave and no one can tell how much graver it will become before an adjustment will be found which will pull this thorn from humanity's flesh.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why does class struggle flare up and die down?
2. What are the favorite tactics employed in class struggle?
3. What are the weapons used?
4. State the stakes of class struggle.
5. Set forth the factors which aggravate it.
6. Set forth the factors which mitigate it.
7. What is the chief root of modern class struggle?
8. Show how class struggle develops from this root.

EXERCISES

104. Would sharp restriction of immigration aggravate or mitigate the labor-capital struggle in this country? *minors foreign labor.*
105. Why is the labor-capital struggle peculiarly ruthless in our Mountain states? *frontier spirit*
106. Are American farmers fated to become as class-conscious as the wage-earners are?

No, not as class conscious, more so the last few years. Used it for legitimate purpose not to exploit!

107. Is class struggle sheer social waste?

108. Is the possession of government as much a goal of the laboring classes in America as it is in Europe? Reasons.

109. What would you think of providing by law that out of the sixteen State University regents not less than three shall be *bona fide* farmers and three shall be representatives of labor?

110. A clergyman writes me: "What proportion of my sermons should be devoted to current social questions?" What shall I answer?

111. Should public school teachers organize locally and affiliate with organized labor? *no. certain objections.*

112. Show that one may believe in the normalcy of class struggle yet not be a socialist, communist, syndicalist, or anarchist.

farmers, labor unions, to a certain extent - but not radicalism

Church & school. Church changing
on account of new scientific thought
and increased knowledge.
Catholic church competes by more
beautiful ritual. Protestant

CHAPTER XVII

INSTITUTIONAL COMPETITION

THE first policy of a menaced organization or institution is to destroy the competitor. The "trust" regularly cuts the price of its products to a point below cost of production in localities in which an "independent" seeks to sell. A shipping combine will have "fighting ships" which are called into play when a new steamship line enters its trade. As soon as the competitor announces a sailing date the combine advertises a steamer to sail on or near this date and offers a freight rate below the actual cost of carriage. In this way the competitor is prevented from securing a cargo.

The highest social class hobbles by minute sumptuary regulations the classes which aspire to come up abreast of it. In feudal Japan, for example, a man might not use his money as he would. The farmer, craftsman, or shopkeeper could not build a house as he liked or procure himself such articles of luxury as his taste might incline him to buy. The richest commoner might not order certain things to be made for him, might not ape the ways or assume the privileges of his betters. Such restrictions are doubtless intended to protect the monopoly of prestige by the higher social orders.

The spread of anti-slavery feeling among the producing people of the North was due to their perception that slavery is a menace to the free-labor system. In accounting for the early abolition of slavery in Massachusetts John Adams remarks:

Argument might have had some weight . . . but the real cause was the multiplication of laboring white people who would not longer suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury.

After representative government with its inevitable strife of parties has been established, the parties controlled by the propertied strive to crush the rising party which asserts working-class interests. To avoid meeting it in the arena of public discussion they hypocritically denounce it as anti-patriotic and subversive, a movement with criminal aims led by scoundrels and assassins, which is not entitled to the belligerent rights of a legitimate political party but deserves only to be stamped out

by suppressing its propaganda and hounding its leaders. Thus was outlawed the socialist party in Germany during Bismarck's ascendancy.

The whole history of religious persecution is the history of an organization trying to establish itself as a monopoly by ruthless destruction of the spokesmen of competing doctrines and movements. In Diocletian's time Roman religious beliefs were weak while the Christian beliefs were vigorous and spreading. In desperation the old system made a ferocious attempt to exterminate all Christians. A thousand years later the church stamped certain sects out of existence and strangled heresies in the cradle. Says Coulton:

That which some love to picture as the harmonious growth of one great body through the Middle Ages is really a history of many divergent opinions violently strangled at birth; while hundreds more, too vigorous to be killed by the adverse surroundings, and elastic enough to take something of the outward colour of their environment, grew in spite of the hierarchy into organisms which, in their turns, profoundly modified the whole constitution of the Church. If the mediæval theory and practice of persecution had still been in full force in the eighteenth century in England, nearly all the best Wesleyans would have chosen to remain within the Church rather than to shed blood in revolt; and the rest would have been killed off like wild beasts.

In 1660 the English Episcopal church became established and entered upon the same policy of persecution of which formerly it had been the victim. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed enforcing the use of the amended Book of Common Prayer. In 1664 the Conventicle Act made illegal all meetings for worship except according to the church. In 1665 an act was passed forbidding Nonconformist ministers to approach a borough. Not until 1689 was the endeavor to crush the sects abandoned.

The Puritan theocracy in New England in its persecution of Antinomians, Baptists, and Quakers showed a like ruthless determination to crush every movement which might bring about its overthrow.

WITHDRAWAL FROM COMPETITION

In case the rival cannot be destroyed one seeks to *withdraw from competition*, just as an army which cannot whip the enemy retires behind fortifications. The rulers of Japan, discovering early in the seventeenth century that the Jesuit missions were disintegrating a society founded on communal custom and filial piety, slew the native Christians, expelled all foreigners save the Dutch traders, who were

confined to a three-acre isle, made it a capital offense for any Japanese to leave Japan, destroyed all vessels capable of long voyages, and attacked any European ships entering a Japanese port, excepting the vessels of the Dutch company. In like manner China in the sixteenth century sought to isolate itself from foreign influences. The endeavor of Chinese officials to shut out the Christian missionaries sprang from the fear of the literary and official class lest the ideas the missionaries introduce should make it harder to maintain their system of governing and exploiting the masses.

In the third quarter of the last century it became clear that the common American standard of living could not possibly survive the competition of the Chinese coolies' standard of living. The friends of the American standard finally erected a barrier against the Oriental standard in the form of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

A church that cannot crush its competitors claims special protection from the state. In South America until recently the state has been used to protect the religious monopoly of the Roman Catholic church. Only since 1865 in Chile have non-Catholics been permitted "to practise their religion inside private buildings belonging to them." Until 1907 the law decreed that any person conspiring "to establish in Bolivia any other religion than that which the Republic professes, namely, that of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church," is a traitor. The constitution of Peru declared "The Nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion; the State protects it and does not permit the exercise of any other." Not until 1915 was the last clause abrogated.

If the State will not shield her, the church that shrinks from meeting competition builds for herself a citadel within which she can continue her life untroubled by the assaults from the outside world. The early church permitted mixed marriages in the serene confidence that the Christian would convert, rather than be converted by, the pagan mate. But an edict of Louis XIV forbade marriage with heretics, because of the "continual temptation of perversion." An expanding church does not admit very young members and is willing that the children of her members should freely choose their religion; but a church hard pressed hopes to forestall the judgment of her young people by incorporating them at an early age and requires her members to rear their children straitly in the faith. She conducts her young through a tunnel of church schools and societies, lit by church lamps, instead of letting them into the broad daylight of the public school, the social settlement, the social center, and the public playground.

Great attention, too, is given to hedging the minds of the adult faithful. The church forbids them to read certain periodicals, patronize certain libraries, see certain plays, or follow certain university courses. Such maternal nervousness is a sure sign that the church, feeling the tide of the age against her, counts on surviving by holding on to her people rather than by winning new converts.

The college loath to modernize its curriculum and methods follows the same tactics. It cultivates assiduously its alumni and appeals to them to send their sons to "dear old Robinson."

In the face of the growing interest in new studies, such as natural science and social science, the classics intrench themselves in the college curriculum as "required subjects," while the new attractions are kept in the inferior status of "elective subjects."

A party menaced by a new political movement dares not meet in the open gets the law to exclude from the official ballot a party which has not received a specified percentage of the ballots cast at the last election.

CONSTRAINED ADAPTATION

*because it has to
not wants to*

A third means of surviving competition may be called *constrained adaptation*.

The government-led Westernization of Japan was not essentially a conversion to Occidental thought but the reluctant taking over of certain Western institutions and policies in order to save Japan from absorption by some Western power.

In China the activity of the Christian missionaries is forcing the native faiths to assume higher forms in order to survive. Chinese scholars are reading into the Confucian classics elevated moral ideas which they have unconsciously imbibed from Christian literature. In some parts, under the spur of missionary competition, the Confucians band together and send out wandering gospellers of their own to spread the doctrines of the sage at fairs and festivals. Chinese Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Taoists form "national associations," found schools, relieve the distress of the poor, help needy children to go to school, and attend to the birth, marriage, and death ceremonies of the destitute.

The Ceylonese Buddhists speak of the "incarnation" and the "immaculate conception" of Buddha and comfort the dying by assuring them that the Lord Buddha will presently receive them into his arms. The Buddhists of Japan besides sending out missionaries of their own have adopted various methods of their Christian competitors. They have

*Pressure - international situation
adapting us.*

INSTITUTIONAL COMPETITION

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stated times for preaching. They have pastoral visitation, street preaching, Sunday schools, prison and army chaplains, and special organizations for young men, women, and children. They maintain charities, push temperance, and set up schools.

The "amusement" clause of the Methodist Book of Discipline has in many places become a dead letter because its enforcement would be a serious handicap in competition with less strict churches. The churches develop "institutional" or social, or recreative, features, not because the ruling element wants them, but in order to attract or hold the young people, the men, or the unchurched. President Vincent says:

The prevalent manifestations of goodfeeling, brotherliness, and co-operation between ministers and churches are in large measure unconscious forms under which they compete for the approval of a public opinion which demands tolerance, friendliness, and unity. The minister and the church who hold aloof quickly feel the displeasure of the community and distinctly lose caste.

The modern socialist movement has forced conservative institutions to concern themselves with the material welfare of the masses. In the seventies of the last century, in order to check Lassalle's movement, Bishop Kettler of Mayence organized in Rhenish Prussia Christian trade unions which spread to Germany and Austria. In Belgium the socialists, in accordance with their principles, organized coöperative banks among the poor. In order not to lose influence over them the church started coöperative banks of her own. In the same way co-operative credit associations have been organized in Quebec in connection with the church. No doubt the advanced social program of the Federal Council of Churches in Christ was adopted by most of the Protestant churches reluctantly and only because it was realized that "something must be done to win back the workingmen."

The whole German system of social insurance was in the first place urged by the Socialist party. Bismarck and his Junkers hated the socialists and cared little for the welfare of the working class, but they took over these alien policies in order to make German wage-earners proof against socialism.

The competition of young American commonwealths for immigrants contributed to the spread of democracy in the United States by promoting the extension of the suffrage and the early adoption of a system of public education. The competition of ambitious cities for residents or factories obliges them to adopt policies respecting saloons, prostitu-

~~tion, parks, boulevards, schools, police, handling of labor troubles, etc., which may be wormwood to the majority.~~

Universities are loath to change, so that their adaptation to new conditions is usually forced by competition. Americans are fortunate in having two types of university—endowed and state. Their competition for professors broadens academic freedom, while their competition for students tends to modernize the curriculum by introducing such new subjects as economics, sociology, business administration, and journalism. The catering of corporate universities to the prejudices of possible donors would hamper gravely the teaching of the social sciences, were it not that they have to meet the competition of the liberal state universities.

In public institutions and in private institutions there are elements of strength and elements of weakness, but they are not identical in the two types. Accordingly if the two types are brought into honorable competition within the same field each is stimulated to develop the kind of strength the other has, along with its own kind of strength, and to rid itself of the weaknesses peculiar to it. Fortunate therefore is the society which has both public and private high schools, both state and corporate universities, both state and private forestry, both state and commercial insurance service, both parcel post and express companies, both community and private agencies of poor relief, and both state and philanthropic institutions for dependents. In order that there may be true competition there should be no alliance of any sort between private societies or foundations and the government. The government should neither subsidize them nor be subsidized by them, but each should go ahead on its own resources and show the best it can do for the people.

SPECIALIZATION

~~Finally an institution eludes competitors by specializing.~~

Thus a college may snap its fingers at rivals offering courses in commerce and journalism and keep its halls filled by offering the best-framed and best-taught classical course of study. When yellow journalism seems to be carrying all before it, some journals save themselves by excluding blare and flare and offering the judicious a soundproof retreat amid the howling of Bedlam. Until lately the British navy refused to enter the common arena of competition among the professions. No one could become a cadet without a recommendation from some relation or friend of the family in the navy. This restriction might seem to limit fatally the talent the navy drew upon; but at a time

when all such barriers about the professions were coming down, the prestige accruing to the navy from its social exclusiveness may really have operated to supply it with more than its fair share of talent.

A church which in its attitude toward science, morals, and social work is out of harmony with its time is not doomed to languish. It may win by specializing in religious esthetics. With dusky and mysterious interiors, magnificent mosaics, wonderful Gregorian music, forests of lighted candles, and domes blue with incense smoke, it may attract those who are sensuous or mystic in temperament, and make headway while more rational faiths are losing ground.

TACTICS OF THE NEW

So far we have considered the behavior of the *established* when threatened by the *new*. Now the new has its policies, too, but they will be quite other than the four I have described. Because it is young and weak, it will not assault its established competitor with intent to *destroy*. It cannot *withdraw from competition* because it has no intrenchments to withdraw to. It is not constrained to *adapt* itself because it is already adapted to the time that sees its birth. If it *specializes* there is no competition at all between it and the established.

On the other hand, the new follows tactics of its own which are not open to the established. Unlike its competitor it can court support by making extravagant claims and promises. The old church, party, or education is limited in its promises by its past performance; but there is no such check on the claims of the young aspirant and so it gives free rein to its imagination. The new remedy sets up as a cure-all. The untried reform poses as a panacea. When the Fourier phalanx, co-operative production, the single tax on land values, the "natural" system of learning foreign languages, or the monitor system, is first proposed, it is possible to paint glowing pictures of the blessings it will bring.

It is logical that the new should often strive to arrest public attention by sensationalism. The established has the prestige of antiquity and possession. The new covets prestige but it must gain it by other means. The new-rich in order to break the spell exercised by old families sets a pace in extravagance and ostentation which amazes and which the former social arbiters cannot stand. The leaders of new departures in art or literature excite curiosity and awe by long hair, flowing ties, unfashionable cut of dress, bizarre actions, and studied unintelligibility. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, made an immense sensation with his story of the Angel with its inscribed plates

Churches = sensational sermons.
Adaptive preacher & music.
appeal to individual.
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of gold. New religious movements are much readier than the old with claims of signs and wonders.

The new *appeals to the more easily aroused demands of human nature*. The demand for *freedom* is one of these and hence the new holds out the lure of release from some form of restraint. Jesus proclaimed, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." Paul preached "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law." The Protestants offered Christians freedom from "prelacy." The Anabaptists held "prophecy" open to all. The Quakers rejected the sacraments and a paid clergy. The Free Methodists offered a free course for the expression of religious feeling. Philosophic individualism makes great headway for a time, and the doctrines of anarchism have a seductiveness of their own. The teaching of the superiority of the artist to all conventions including the Ten Commandments will always meet with response. "Free verse" is a rallying cry, while symbolism is welcomed as loosing the artist from the trammels of the actual. The "free election of studies" is a winning cry for an assault on the fixed curriculum.

Freedom is, however, not the only winning appeal of the new; *ritual, secrecy, and exclusiveness* are other means of gaining a following.

Thanks to these tactics, a new thing without merit may triumph over the time-tested old if the plane of popular intelligence be low. Among the ignorant, valuable institutions may be shaken by the impudent and blatant competition of charlatans, fanatics, and false prophets. For a while people may turn from the hard-won and age-sifted truth to follow bubble promises and iridescent sophisms. That which is suited to man's deep and lasting needs may be abandoned for that which chimes with his fitful desires.

IN AN INTELLIGENT PEOPLE NO INSTITUTION SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM COMPETITION

When, however, the plane of intelligence is high, it is chiefly competition that keeps institutions adapted to the conditions they face and the people they serve. Without this spur the institution stands still or even degenerates. Since this is so, no institution ought to be shielded from competition by any special privilege or advantage. The youthful sect, party, college, doctrine, or ideal ought to have the same freedom to agitate, advertise, proselyte, and organize that the established enjoys. Moreover, individuals must be free to detach themselves from old

organizations without unreasonable forfeiture and join new ones or none at all. Inter-party migration tends to liberalize parties; inter-denominational migration to liberalize churches; inter-university migration to liberalize universities; inter-state migration to liberalize governments.

An institution that has the children of its members for nothing may petrify in its tracks. It is not good, therefore, that the sons should inherit creed, party allegiance, college allegiance, local allegiance, from their fathers; they should choose in freedom. The parent that fastens unescapable bonds upon the child before it has reached the age of choice confiscates the child's personality.

If, instead of inheriting their adherents, organizations had to win them, they would accommodate themselves to to-day. The contrasts between organizations would connect less with differences of origin and history and more with the actual contrasts of type in contemporary society. In religion, for example, Methodists and Catholics, Friends and Christian Scientists, Dunkers and Salvation Army, would, no doubt, find each a type they were best suited to, but certainly some of the one hundred and fifty sects in the United States would perish because their root is in distant European conditions or remote centuries.

The competition for public favor between parties, sects, schools, universities, governments, manners, and ideals brings about that adaptation to the will of the people which characterizes democratic society. The competition of manners for adoption makes them direct and expressive instead of stiff and formal. The competition of ideals for favor humanizes them and brings them into accord with the real soul of man. As organizations and institutions compete, their line of development becomes subject to the general trend of opinion and feeling. With *status*, institutions make the character of their people; with *competition*, the people make the character of their institutions.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Illustrate the principle that every established institution tries at first *to destroy its competitor*.
2. Illustrate *withdrawal from competition*.
3. What is the significance of an organization requiring its members to pledge it their children?
4. Illustrate *constrained adaptation*.
5. Show the advantages of equitable competition between public institutions and private institutions.

6. Explain how competition is eluded by *specialization*.
7. What are the favorite tactics of the new?
8. What is necessary in order that the new and the established may compete on fair terms?

EXERCISES

113. Is the eagerness to destroy the competitor rather than meet his competition due chiefly (1) to laziness, (2) to consciousness of weakness, (3) to reluctance to adapt one's self, or (4) to a conviction of his utter perniciousness?
114. Why does not Science set up an "index" of theological or anti-Science books which its followers are to shun?
115. Was it good policy for the United States Department of Agriculture to promote its rural community organization work with men paid Rockefeller money? Reasons.
116. Which is the better way to make labor count politically—form a labor party or make the old parties bid against one another for the labor vote?
117. Give instances which have come under your observation of the new making extravagant claims and promises.
118. Do the single-taxers over-promise?
119. Give illustrations of your own of the sensationalism of the new.
120. Should youths of twenty feel free to reject the attitudes (memberships, friendships, grudges, etc.) of their parents?
121. Should grown children feel obligated to follow parental wishes respecting mating? vocation? religion? politics?
122. Would you wish the influence of the past upon the institutional life of to-day to be greater or less than it actually is?

Friday. Monday.

CHAPTER XVIII

ADAPTATION

WILFUL unlikeness in the outstanding features of life is likely to beget misunderstanding and aversion, even hatred. It is not the differing actions of other people we resent so much as the standards which these actions are supposed to reflect. The gentleman does not resent the overalls and horny hands of the workingman because he believes that the latter would lead a gentleman's life if he could. But if a man of means, contemptuous of the gentleman's horror of productive labor, deliberately gives himself up to real work, his conduct will be resented. When diversity of ways is perceived to run back to diversity of standards, hostility is aroused, for each regards the ways of the other as a covert attack upon his own standards.

Then, too, each people notices and plumes itself upon cases in which its standard is higher or more exacting than that of another people and overlooks cases in which its standard is lower or laxer. Thus we despise the coolies of Canton for eating the unclean rat, but cannot understand that the Mohammedans and Jews despise us for eating an equally unclean animal, the pig. We rate the Japanese as immodest because formerly the sexes bathed together in undress, but it never occurs to us that the refined Chinese regard our nude paintings and statuary, our art posters, our advertisements of corsets and underwear, our décolleté gowns and our round dances as exceedingly immodest.

The Englishman not only regards fighting with the fists as a proper means of settling personal differences, but he idealizes it and cherishes it as a precious national institution. The Asiatic, on the other hand, regards physical encounter—save in extremity—as befitting barbarians, and in the Englishman's propensity to strike or kick those who have offended him he sees nothing but a violent and uncontrolled temper.

The irate Oriental feels that he marks himself off from the animal when he heaps opprobrious epithets on his enemy and indulges in biting reflections on his character and ancestry—in other words, when he assails the *personality* of the offender rather than his *person*. The wrathful Occidental, on the other hand, feels that the right thing to do is damage the anatomy of whoever has excited his ire.

Is toleration ever a - nice ?

Under the greatest stress the Colombian never abandons the forms of politeness and in his eyes the indignant, impatient American who storms, swears, and threatens, is simply wanting in self-control. The American, however, never thinks of his unrestraint as a sign of weakness, but is quite sure that the politeness of the Colombian to his adversary argues an insincere and treacherous character.

The American is shocked by the Chinaman's lack of chivalry toward his wife; the Chinaman is shocked by the American's lack of reverence toward his parents. The American jokes about the absence of toilet soap in his chamber in a French hotel, while the hotel keeper shrugs his shoulders at the American's willingness to use a cake of soap after previous guests instead of carrying his own soap.

These instances illustrate the propensity of every group to regard its own ways as refined and excellent, in accord with reason and the will of God, and to look down on others so far as they depart from its own standard.

Now when elements with clashing traditions respecting diet, dress, manners, and social customs are intermingled, their mutual aversion not only limits gravely their coöperation, but may even lead to violence; so that an endeavor is made to find among the heterogeneous a basis for mutual respect and coöperation. Hence, partly spontaneously and partly as the result of intelligent effort, diverse ethnic elements gradually adapt themselves one to the other. The chief steps in the process are toleration, compromise, accommodation, and amalgamation.

TOLERATION

open mindedness

Nearly all founders and teachers of religion have seized upon the antipathies arising out of irrelevant differences as the very first of the evils to be cleared away in order to make room for the higher life of man; and always the ancient spirit of the tribe has fought against these teachings, neglecting or distorting them.

The promulgators of universal religions—Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, Mahomet—preach toleration of the stranger. Jesus, with his parable, "Who is my neighbor?" and his teaching of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, launched a mighty influence for fraternity. But the Church came to cultivate hatred of the heretic, while the belief in collective responsibility for individual error made each community or nation intolerant of heterodoxy. Thus Christianity became one of the most terrible dividers and embroilers of men and brought on the devastating "wars of religion" of the sixteenth century.

The process by which we tend to become alike.

ADAPTATION

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Mahomet with his doctrine of the brotherhood of all within the faith broke down innumerable tribalisms; but by teaching his followers to draw the line against the unbeliever rather than against the stranger, he replaced one kind of intolerance with another.

The ancient polytheistic religions did not foment hatred between peoples. Each nation had its own gods, but recognized the reality of other gods and their right to be worshiped. It is monotheism, with its insistence that all gods but one are false, and every worship but one is a defrauding of the one true God, which makes the man of another faith an "infidel."

Unless they suspect witchcraft, nature men are more tolerant of alien ways than culture men. The latter cherish standards which make them intolerant of many features in the life of nature men, e.g., nudity, uncleanness, trophy-hunting, "witch-smelling," infanticide, slavery, polygamy, and such like.

It is significant that the antagonistic nationalisms which in the course of the last half century have set East European peoples by the ears, did not grow up from the uncultivated folk masses but were inspired from above. It was the scholars, writers, and poets who made their fellow-nationals conscious of the difference between themselves and others.

The practice of toleration springs from the spirit of toleration and this is promoted by certain ways of looking at unlikeness of customs. One is that such unlikeness *shows not worth-difference, but only difference in circumstances and history.* The English are certainly more open-handed than the Scotch, but they will never despise the Scotch as stingy if they realize how the climate and soil of Scotland have made frugality a requisite of survival. One will be slow to condemn the Russian peasant as lazy if one considers how a long winter interrupts work and breaks up good habits. A practice like duelling, vendetta, or frontier lynching is less shocking if one understands the conditions out of which it naturally grows.

Again, tolerance is fostered by the idea that peculiar manners and customs are, after all, externals; that it is inner qualities that count. Tradition governs externals rather than the heart, so that men who differ in diet, dress, and manners—which have been handed down to them—may feel and respond alike in a given situation. Now, the classification of our fellows which is practical is on the basis of ability and character. We have to appraise them as strong or weak, capable or incompetent, wise or foolish, steady or flighty, "straight" or "crooked," in order to know how to deal with them. We should perfect

such classification and not allow a pointless classification according to externals to blur it.

Furthermore, toleration is furthered by regulated avoidance. In a mixed population the rules of intercourse prescribe certain reticences which lessen friction between the unlike. In India ethnic elements the most diverse are able to dwell intermingled, circulate freely, and have dealings together by observing a strict etiquette of non-interference, and even inattention, respecting one another's diet, family life, social customs and religious practices.

Finally, toleration of non-essential differences is promoted by mutually advantageous contacts and relations. Buying and selling, borrowing and lending, fellowship in associations, team work, citizenly co-operation, oblige us to judge others as *individuals* and break up our lump judgments of them according to some exterior peculiarity in food, garb, or rite. This is why homogeneous rural communities, the members of which have rarely dealt with those unlike themselves, are sensitive to external differences, while cosmopolitan cities, where all types of men meet and mingle, are broad-minded.

COMPROMISE

The necessity for coöperating prompts the unlike to compromise their differences and abide together rather than go asunder or fight each other. As the pressure grows they consent to more compromises; as the pressure lightens they refuse to compromise longer. The medley of peoples making up the Austrian Empire remained for centuries in one state chiefly because, if they failed to hold together, foreign conquerors would reduce them to a status poorer than they were vouchsafed under the Hapsburgs. During most of the two centuries before 1815, the discordant elements in Austria had to stand shoulder to shoulder in wars involving the fate of the dynasty. After the relations of Austria to her neighbors had become stabilized, the long pent-up discords broke on the surface in the revolution of 1848 and later in the adjustment by which Hungary obtained self-government. The downfall of the military empires in Eastern Europe, 1917-18, allayed the fears which held unlike peoples in one leash and each people would have nothing less than full self-determination.

Compromise involves strain, for each compromising element has to yield something to which it feels itself entitled. Consequently, one means of promoting good will among the diverse ethnic elements incorporated into a society is to lessen, so far as possible, the number of

occasions for compromise. In case these elements inhabit distinct districts or regions this may be done by allowing every such area the utmost measure of home rule. *Federal government* is, therefore, peculiarly suited to the needs of the peoples lately under the Hapsburg or Romanoff scepter, who wish complete freedom in all cultural matters yet have good economic reasons for remaining in some kind of political union.

ACCOMMODATION

If one element in a mixed society is clearly superior in culture it will be imitated by the rest and all will meet on its plane. The domination of the Incas over the hunting tribes of the Peruvian Sierras was firmly based because they it was who had taught these nature men to till and irrigate, had introduced the llama, founded sun worship, put an end to war and established a compulsory system of industry. The rapid Latinizing of the Gauls after Cæsar's conquest was due to the plain superiority of the Roman culture. Rome made no effort to assimilate them but they Latinized of their own accord. Within forty years Druidism lost nearly all its authority, the Gauls renounced their warlike habits and became interested in peaceful labor, and Roman speech, schools and towns were everywhere.

If, on the other hand, the cultures juxtaposed are on about the same plane their bearers reciprocally influence one another.

FACTORS OF ACCOMMODATION

Intermingling. The Incas hastened the assimilation of the populations under them by transferring bodies of peasantry from one district to another. Charlemagne deported Saxons into south Germany and Franconia while Franks and Slavs were imported into Saxony. The spread of the Roman culture was greatly accelerated by the visits of Roman merchants to the remotest bounds of the Empire and by the settlement of Romans in every province. So long as such intercourse and settlement continue the diverse peoples grow more alike.

Improvements in communication. Intermingling is greatly facilitated by good highways, which bring forward into the present groups which have been sealed up in some mountain regions like the Scotch Highlands, the Caucasus, the Pyrenees, the Abruzzi, the Peruvian Sierra, or the Appalachians. Contact has but a slow effect on groups moving on diverging lines of development—such as Hindoos and English, Turks and Armenians—but it effaces with startling rapidity

unlikeness between groups at different points on a certain line of development by bringing quickly forward the belated group. Thanks to better communications the Highlanders have caught up with their fellow British, the Corsicans with the French, the Sardinians with the Italians, and the Appalachian mountain folk with the Americans.

A common religion. A religion which provides the entire intellectual background establishes such fundamental agreements among its followers that the toughest lump in the population begins to dissolve when it is no longer held together by a religion of its own. This was why Charlemagne forced Christianity upon the Saxons even at the point of the sword. The conversion of the barbarians between the fourth and the thirteenth centuries was in every case a momentous event, for it at once brought them within a new set of influences and they began to share in the movement of European culture. In the wake of the religion of Mahomet followed presently the brilliant Saracenic culture. In the foreign missionary activity of to-day so many elements of Occidental culture are blended with purely religious teachings that the net effect is the promotion of resemblance and sympathy between races on the most divergent lines of cultural development.

A common law. A dual system of law preserves the distinctness of ethnic elements in society, while a law common to all weakens unlikeness by ignoring it. The Visigoths in Italy quickly blended with the Italians when at the end of the seventh century the two laws, Visigothic and Roman, which had existed side by side, were fused into one law common to the two races.

A common language. A foreign language cocoons an ethnic group and keeps it alien. Ignorant of social science, Americans have allowed groups of foreign-born thus to encyst themselves until there are young people born and educated in America who cannot understand or speak the English language. All children here should be required to attend schools conducted in English.

The public school. Separate schools for different elements in the population deepen and extend the sense of difference because of their emphasis on distinctiveness of race, history, language, literature, religion, and culture. On the other hand, the school that is common to all stresses the *present* and the *future* rather than the *past* and emphasizes the matters common to all, such as present life interests. Compare the assimilative achievement of the Americans in the Philippines *with* the common school with that of the Dutch in Java *without* it.

The common newspaper. With its emphasis on the *present* the

constrained adaptation --

Catholic church ^{under pressure} at time of reformation

ADAPTATION

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newspaper weakens the grasp of the traditions which hold apart the unlike. Minds reached by the same newspapers are oriented in the same direction and find new and common interests. The American "yellow" newspaper, which, by means of scare-heads, color pictures, and gong effects, gets itself read by the foreign-born, has been a potent agent of Americanization.

Voluntary associations crossing ethnic lines. Joint action in defense of common interests quickly overcomes the suspiciousness and aversion between the unlike. Investigation shows that among the foreign-born in the stock yards district of Chicago each nationality has its own churches, schools, building and loan associations, and political clubs. The one association which embraces all nationalities is the trade union, which organizes men according to occupation and refuses to recognize nationality lines.

"In his trade union the Slav mixes with the Lithuanian, the German, and the Irish, and this is the only place they do mix until, by virtue of this intercourse and this mixing, clannishness is to a degree destroyed, and a social mixing along other lines comes naturally into play."

AMALGAMATION

After the major differences in speech, religion, and customs between intermixed elements have been planed away, intermarriage takes place freely and the original diversity disappears. The offspring of these mixed unions reconcile in their persons the opposed tendencies. Inheriting from their two parents distinct traditions they adopt the superior, combine the best elements of both, or else discover an independent standing ground for themselves. Thus vanished the historic oppositions of Israelites and Canaanites, patricians and plebeians, Romans and Goths, Gauls and Franks, English and Danes, Normans and English. Amalgamation is, then, the *end term* of the process of adaptation.

But no such happy ending is possible in case the *physical differences* between juxtaposed races offer a barrier to intermarriage. Observes Bryce:

It was the good fortune of the Roman Empire that the vast majority of the races whom it conquered and absorbed had no conspicuous physical differences from the Italians which prevented intermarriage and fusion. Race and birthplace were no great obstacle to a man of force. Two or three of the Emperors were of African or Arab extraction. Moreover, the peoples of Southern Europe seem to have less repulsion of sentiment

America has greater assimilation power than any nation on earth.

towards the dark-skinned races than the Teutons have. The Spanish and Portuguese intermarry not only with the native Indians of Central and Southern America, but also with the negroes. The French of Canada intermarried more freely with the Indians of North America than the English have done.

The color line, as it presents itself in various parts of the world and particularly in our South, makes race blending impossible. This is why no "solution" of the "negro problem" is in sight, although much may be done to improve the relations between whites and blacks. The living side by side of elements which disdain to mix is not objectionable in a society of the Asiatic type which does not aspire to spiritual unity. But in a "democratic" society, which covets a social mind, a color line is a source of weakness. Such a society should guard its future by barring out any immigrating race with which its members will not freely mate.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why is diversity of ways resented? *does violence to our power of adaptation*
2. Show the desirability of the adaptation one to another of differing social elements.
3. Why is polytheism more tolerant than monotheism?
4. What ideas and practices promote the tolerant spirit?
5. What are the factors bringing about "accommodation"?
6. How is amalgamation brought about?
7. Why is a "color line" a structural weakness in a democratic society?

EXERCISES

123. Of the contrasted procedures of irate Oriental and irate Occidental, which is better and why?
124. Ought we to have more tolerance or less tolerance for deliberate law breakers?
125. Would you discriminate between law breakers on the ground of motive, e.g., whiskey smugglers and conscientious objectors?
126. Ought native Americans show or hide their scorn of their Slavic neighbors who with no greater need make their daughters work in the field?
127. Would you cast off a friend advocating a doctrine you consider noxious, e.g., negro lynching, free love; or would you tolerate him because his motive is good?
128. Now that this country is settled, will the migration from one state or section to another be as great proportionally as it has been?
129. Should public opinion encourage or discourage cross-marriages, e.g., Americans with Jews, Protestants with Catholics, Irish with Portuguese, blacks with whites?

*Europeans learn many languages
adaptation goes on in school
classes from freshmen to seniors.*



COÖPERATION

CHAPTER

- XIX COÖPERATION
- XX THE ORGANIZATION OF EFFORT
- XXI THE ORGANIZATION OF WILL
- XXII THE ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT
- XXIII THE DETERIORATION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Conscious cooperation
Unconscious "
1. Economic cooperation

CHAPTER XIX *wed.*

COÖPERATION

NO degree of like-mindedness reconciles people to being held together in a union which is not doing anything for them. Hence all large permanent groupings—when they are not the product of conquest—exist for a *purpose*, which without them could be attained not at all or else not so well. In a word they are *coöperations*.

PURPOSES OF COÖPERATION

The most ancient and frequent motive to union has been *coöperation in fighting*. The migrations of nomads into settled areas and their predatory invasions of strong peoples draw them into large, loose unions, such as that of the Israelites making their way into the land of Canaan, of the Vedic people descending into India, of the Cimbri, Teutons and Gauls clutching at Italy. But such unions are temporary, because *attack is optional*, whereas *defense is imperative*. For not being ready to attack there is no such penalty as for not being ready to defend. Hence *fear of being attacked* is the master builder of big permanent unions. The antagonism between tribes and nations has forged men into solid masses. It was not breaking into the land of Canaan which welded the twelve tribes of Israel under Saul and David, but their wars with the neighboring peoples. The Iroquois confederacy of six Indian tribes resulted from the encroachments of the English. The mercantile city-states of the Middle Ages—Genoa, Venice, Leghorn—came into being chiefly to protect their trade from piracy and to maintain consuls in the Levant who should look after their commercial interests. So long as there were Indians to be fought and so long as the Dutch were in New York and the French in Canada, the American colonists had a lively state-sense. But when they no longer had cause to fear, internal liberty expanded and jealousy of the state and of the colonial governor grew.

A race too independent in spirit may be *ruined from failure to coöperate when common action is imperative*. The Germans of the fifth century were the mere *débris* of a weakened race which had been

whipped for three centuries by the Romans, vanquished by Slavs and Huns, above all torn by long internecine wars. Gone were nearly all the peoples Tacitus describes and praises. They had torn one another to pieces through inability to coöperate politically, to form a strong and stable state. We find only Franks, Alamans, Saxons; not tribes but mere bands or fighting hordes; for Franks = warriors, Alamans = all sorts of men, Saxons = ax men. These wandering bands accompanied by their women, children, and serfs were without attachment to the soil, settled life, and the idea of fatherland. They no longer had stable traditions, customs, laws, elders and assemblies. The old legal and peaceful régime Tacitus beheld had gone under in the centuries of confusion.

Fustel de Coulanges insists:

Gaul was conquered by Cæsar not because the Gauls were timid but because they would not unite and fight together. In great wars and in the face of invasions personal courage is worth little. It is the strength of public institutions and racial discipline which defends nations. Where the political bond is weak, the invasion at once disorganizes the state, upsets minds, shatters characters, and in this growing disorder the invasion succeeds.

The next weightiest motive for political coöperation is the establishment of tribunals for the settlement of disputes. The creation of the Icelandic Republic in the tenth century is an instance. Iceland, remote and poor, was not in need of foreign policy, army, fleet, or exchequer. The settlements organized the Republic in order to provide machinery which should put an end to the destructive feuds which raged among them. It was a government without an executive side, developed only upon its judicial, and, to a much smaller extent, upon its legislative side.

Another common enterprise is the construction of public works. The early city builders—in Babylonia, for example, or in Russia—were tillers of the soil who were providing themselves with a *stronghold* rather than a *market-place*. The essential thing was the *walls* rather than the *houses*, for in case of foray the peasants fleeing from the open country simply camped in the enclosure until the enemy retired. The residence and trading features of the city developed afterward.

The control of water calls for combined labor. It is likely that the early appearance of the despotic state in the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges sprang from the necessity of maintaining irrigation ditches and reservoirs. Stable organization was probably forced upon the Chinese by their need of huge embankments to protect

them from the flood waters of the Hoang-Ho. In northern Ceylon, concord and union were so indispensable in the community upkeep of the ditches and tanks that injunctions for their maintenance were sometimes graven on the rocks. A few years ago the most ancient and efficient governmental service to be met with in China was the control of the Min River for the watering of the Chêngtu plain. The upkeep of levees has magnified the Federal Government in the eyes of dwellers along the Lower Mississippi, while their dependence upon reclamation works gives certain of our Far Westerners a state-sense rare in other Americans.

Economic coöperation does not forge large groups, but gives rise to an infinity of small-scale undertakings, such as the collective hunting of a gregarious animal like the buffalo, or of a formidable creature like the elephant or the whale; the common protection of herds against beasts of prey; the common management of live stock owned by separate families; the common mowing of the meadows owned by the village community; and the common up-keep of highways and bridges.

SHORTAGE OF COÖPERATION

Often the supply of willing coöperation has been insufficient to meet the need of it. This chronic shortage comes from the fact that, unlike bees and ants, we coöperate not from instinct but from reason. Nearly every community has its blockheads who "see no use" in joint efforts which the intelligent know are vital to the common safety or welfare, its slackers who hang back because they count on the rest going ahead. Hence, coöperation for common ends a little dim or remote cannot be effected without some compulsion. The anarchists err in decrying coercive authority as always the child of conquest or personal ambition. It is likely to spring up whenever there are life-and-death matters calling for the effort of all—and not getting it! Whatever it be—village palisade, city wall, aqueduct, lighthouse, dyke, fire-break, home guard, fleet, practice with arms—if purblind scoffers and slackers stand in its way, the wise will approve the leader who makes them do their "bit."

MUTUAL AID

The simplest coöperation is mutual aid, i.e., the spontaneous combination of efforts without submission to authority. Since it goes against the grain it is more resorted to in *hard* times than in *easy* times. Merchants band themselves into guilds when striving for the recognition by king and priesthood, artisans when struggling for legal rights.

Wage-earners will not form unions until they have suffered much, employers until the labor unions are pressing them hard. Fruit growers, cotton growers, tobacco growers, do not combine to control their production until they are at their last gasp. Settlers practise mutual aid most when they are poor and struggling. The American pioneers had their "bees" for sewing, quilting, corn-husking, harvesting, threshing, barn-raising, walnut-shucking, and road-mending. If a man was sick, his neighbors "turned in" and with hurrah and good cheer gathered his crop. If he was "burnt out," they came together and cut, hauled, and fitted logs for a new cabin. They practised "exchanging work" in harvest time and no one hesitated to borrow or lend. A generation or two later, when every one is "well fixed," these mutual-aid customs die out.

Mutual aid is more in favor with the *lower* social classes than with the *upper*. The latter are too proud to lean on one another, e.g., borrow and lend. With them standing alone is a point of honor. The humble, on the other hand, consent to depend on one another and, besides, they can hardly survive unless they stand together. The laboring folk of ancient Rome banded themselves into *collegia*. There was a union for each trade to protect its members against the upper classes, insure security in work, and lend some dignity to existence. Each had its festivals and sacred banquets, its banner, its common fund, its houses and lands, its elected head. No wonder Christianity, the religion of love and brotherly aid, captivated this class long before it won over the high and proud.

Neighborhood without mutual aid is likely to beget bickering, cliquism, and feuds. Farmers often lose their social traits when there is nothing they do together with their hands or their minds. They may be individually prosperous, yet fail to provide themselves with good roads, good schools, and opportunities for stimulating social intercourse. Upright they may be, yet divided by social, racial, and religious schisms. The remedy is to get them to coöperate in the importation of lecturers, entertainers, and traveling libraries, in the improvement of the roads, in the betterment of the schools, in building and furnishing an assembly hall for common use, in mutual fire insurance, in coöperative purchasing, in collectively discussing and thinking out problems which touch the farmers' life, in joint action on behalf of desired legislation, and in creating occasions for sociable enjoyment. *The varied practice of mutual aid socializes character and engenders social morality.*

FREEDOM VERSUS COMPULSION IN COÖPERATION

A common task may be performed by *voluntary coöperation* or by *compulsory coöperation*. In the Middle Ages even military defense was sometimes provided for by common understanding. In the valley of the Wei River in China one sees river dykes, roads, irrigation mains, and town walls which owe nothing to authority. There is a tendency, however, for functions which might be discharged by means of voluntary association to devolve upon the State. The citizens maintain a paid police instead of taking turns at "watch and ward." Paid men fight fire instead of volunteer companies. The streets are cared for by a brigade of sweepers instead of a "clean-up" bee.

The main motives for abandoning free coöperation are:

1. Selfish individuals refuse to do their part in creating conditions like order, security, or salubrity, which benefit all alike.

2. Certain services of joint benefit such as sanitation, education, conservation, street-cleaning, food-inspection, provision for recreation, etc., are appreciated least by the ignorant who need them most.

3. The waste of energy in keeping up as many voluntary associations as there are tasks calling for combined effort is avoided by using a single inclusive compulsory organization, e.g., the municipality. The necessity of creating under the voluntary plan as many distinct associations as there are general interests arises out of the fact that the library users are not identical with the school users, the playground users, the water users; with those who want steam rollers, or hose carts, or street sprinklers, or garbage carts, or irrigation ditches, or free antitoxin. Since the circles do not coincide, a special association would have to be organized for each service.

4. What once was done by the intermittent efforts of all—fire-fighting, pursuit of criminals with "hue and cry," watching dykes and irrigation canals, road-mending, street-cleaning, life-saving—has been turned over to the continuous efforts of a few who know their business—firemen, police, street-cleaners, inspectors, and coastguards. It is simpler to support these services out of taxes than to pass a subscription paper for each.

5. "Voluntary" coöperation loses voluntariness to the extent that social pressure is applied in order to whip slackers into line. On the other hand, under popular government, the support of each public service may be willing for all but a very small minority of tax-payers. If four-fifths of the citizens approve a school tax, while half of those

who contribute to a cause do so in order to placate public opinion, the former coöperation is voluntary rather than the latter.

In a word, the voluntary method of caring for common needs is little used after the community has become too large for its members to know one another and to act readily in concert; after it has become so differentiated that the sense of common needs to be cared for is dull; and after the community can be better served by the trained man than by the volunteer citizen.

THE SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR

When the services to be combined or interchanged are unlike, we have a social division of labor. Part of society renders certain services while the rest render it counter-services. This arrangement may grow up spontaneously—as we see in the trades and professions—or of set purpose—as we see in the various public services. In the former case the services are paid for by the individual recipients of service, in the latter case by the group collectively.

The earliest division of function is that between the *workers* and the *fighters*. Barton shows that:

A semi-agricultural cultivation of the palm in the oases was the chief food supply of the Arabs almost from the time of their settlement in the peninsula. No company of men could gain possession of an oasis and hold it for cultivation without organization for defense. Such an oasis would not support them the year round, they must either hunt or keep flocks and herds. In Arabia there was little hunting. If flocks and herds were kept they must be led forth to pasture. While some were cultivating the oasis, the younger and hardier men took the more dangerous part of leading the flocks out to graze.

Payne declares the primitive functional cleavage is between workers and warriors:

An agricultural tribe permanently settled upon productive lands which its labor has rendered additionally valuable, stands in a new relation to neighboring tribes. While its permanently stationary condition exposes it to attacks, which its women, food stores and miscellaneous possessions naturally invite, the social changes produced by increasing reliance on agriculture render its members as a whole incapable of offering effectual resistance. Hence the warrior class. Such a class, having as its primary function the defense of the community against external aggression, is found in all advancing agricultural tribes.

The old French *noblesse* can be traced to hard-hitting fighters who in the anarchy of the tenth century gather a force which can protect a district. Each canton acquires a local police corps in which from father to son one is always a policeman. The peasant now sows in security. He knows that in case of danger he can find asylum in the palisade at the base of the castle. By degrees a tacit contract grows up between the chieftain of the donjon and the early settlers in the open country. They will serve and pay him if he will protect them. As for the wretched who take refuge with him from the general disorder he plants them on soil which without him would be uninhabitable and they become his serfs.

Of course such a relation degenerates inevitably into exploitation because the cultivators cannot deal as equals with the fighters. Able to intimidate the population they protect these local chieftains become headstrong lords, grabbing the best of everything and scorning every business but fighting. Many a local population which in the Dark Ages agreed to feed a wandering band of armed men in return for their military protection were crushed into serfdom by these hired guards. When the "king's peace" spread over the land and defense was cared for by a royal army the scions of feudal chieftains became an elegant parasitic *noblesse*.

The union of weapons and prestige in the same hands makes it very difficult to keep the military always subordinate to the civil authority, i.e., to keep the armed servant from becoming master. In Europe the army has been the private preserve of the aristocracy and therefore a hotbed of reactionary intrigue. Dreading army ascendancy our forefathers decried a standing army and put undue faith in a militia. The modern device of universal military service rather than an overlarge professional army avoids the peril of a gulf between the military and the civil parts of society.

Another frequent differentiation is that between the governing class and the rest of society. This class arises out of those who, possessing wealth and leisure, have gained the intelligence and organization for the control of public affairs. Usually it cultivates in its members martial spirit and proficiency in arms. Such an element gains the upper hand because it has the qualifications for governing, whereas the unlettered masses are too ignorant and narrow-minded to rule the state. In England of the eighteenth century, the country gentlemen; in the old South, the planters; the Junkers in East Prussia; the *hacendados* in Chile, exemplify a governing class.

Such a class may give vigorous and intelligent government but it never uses government to promote social ends or to elevate the masses. In time it is almost sure to become parasitic upon the government it controls. Witness how the prosperity of the English gentry became involved with the "corn laws," of the Chilean *hacendados* with paper money. Thus gradually a governing class becomes less public spirited and more selfish.

A learned class dominating in matters of religion, morals, education and law, is possible owing to the prestige which learning has in ages of general ignorance. The priests and scribes of Israel, the Druids, the Christian clergy of the Middle Ages, and the *literati* of China are examples. Such a class aspires to do all the thinking for the people, is contemptuous of the folk culture, exaggerates the worth and difficulty of its learning, and discredits or suppresses the unprofessional thinkers and teachers. It rarely exploits the people, but it covets power and likes to be distinguished by privileges and insignia, such as benefit of clergy, special representation in government, monopoly of certain offices, academic degrees, cap and gown, academic professions, functions and honors. The differentiation of the learned professions, so that each is held in check by all the rest, the provision of free education culminating in the university, and the great increase in the number of callings which utilize the well-educated, have done away with the possibility of a unified and a self-conscious learned class.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why are unions for aggression less stable than unions for defense?
2. What was the motive which created the Icelandic Republic?
3. Show how the control of water forces combination of efforts.
4. Why has community coöperation so often been compulsory?
5. Why do social superiors practise mutual aid least?
6. Reasons why we are turning from voluntary coöperation to compulsory coöperation.

7. What is the "social division of labor"? *assignments made on basis of free choice, no conscious limitation*

EXERCISES

130. Illustrate from university life the truth of the sentence "The varied practice of mutual aid socializes character and engenders social morality."
131. Compare farm family and town family in respect to amount of co-operation.
132. If most of the things once done by voluntary coöperation are looked after by the city or the state, our chief duty being to pay taxes, what is going to socialize us in the future?

133. Does n't the enfranchisement of women reintroduce the old dangerous distinction between the fighting and the non-fighting citizenry?
134. When for a generation there has been a path of escape (free education and maintenance) into the intellectual occupations for every bright son or daughter of farmers or workingmen, will the classes working with their hands enjoy *more* or *less* social consideration than they do now?

Influence will be greater

Friday.

CHAPTER XX

THE ORGANIZATION OF EFFORT

acting.

ORGANIZATION is an effective way of combining the efforts of many for the achievement of a common end. From planless, haphazard coöperation—settlers fighting a prairie fire or rioters storming a jail—organization is approached by a number of steps. One is the submitting of like efforts to direction, as when planters fortify a levee against a flood or citizens come together as a sheriff's posse. Another is the combining, under direction, of unlike efforts, as in road-building, a barn-raising, a rabbit-drive, or a "round-up" of cattle. When, as in railway operation, a military envelopment movement, or a fleet manœuvre, the several diverse efforts must be very precisely timed and adjusted to one another, direction will be very minute and authoritative. If the work is difficult, an authority will be needed to assign tasks according to individual aptitude or skill, and, if the organization is permanent, to provide that individuals are especially trained for the performance of their special functions.

THE DETERMINANTS OF ORGANIZATION

— The chief determinant of the character of organization is the nature of the task. If it is something to be done, say rear a building or move trains, an organization is called for, the parts of which work smoothly together like the wheels and levers of a machine. But if the purpose sought is the beneficial influence which members may exert upon one another, organization is merely a means of promoting association and fellowship.

Again, is the effect aimed at physical or psychical? On a plantation or in a factory, the spirit of the workers is by no means so important as in the case of a newspaper staff, an associated charities, a propagandist society, or the soliciting force of a life-insurance company—all of them working in the realm of mind. Sullen men who hate their work may still cut sugar cane or tend machines, but no one who feels himself to be a slave, a drudge, or a cogwheel can teach, persuade, or inspire. All organizations, therefore, which work on people rather than on things,

have to pay heed to the *morale* of their force. They must appease the demands of their workers to the point of contentment and supply the motives which arouse the higher faculties to their tasks.

In *life-and-death* matters, responsibility must be definite, and strict obedience will be exacted even from an intelligent personnel. Thus, after trained nurses came into hospitals, a great quarrel broke out between nurses and doctors over the question whether the nurse should be entirely subordinate to the physician or enjoy some discretion. The issue was settled by the complete subordination of the nurse. So is it in the management of railroads and ships.

Still greater is the subordination required in dealing with tasks which are subject to *crisis*. When tremendous consequences hinge on what is done in a few hours, or even a few minutes, mistake and failure must be eliminated at all costs. A fighting force, then—whether it is to cope with foes, mobs, fires, surf, floods, or epidemics—tends toward a military organization. Not only is literal and prompt obedience enforced by severe penalties, but, in order that the right thing may be done in the emergency, it must be ingrained as habit. Hence, all organizations which are subject to *crisis* make much of *drill*.

Military organization, just because it reached a high development as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, has unfortunately served as pattern for later types of organization which are not subject to the strain of crisis. Hence, in government bureaus and in business administration has prevailed the false idea that the usefulness of the subordinate to his superior consists in executing orders and furnishing reports. It is irrational, however, to repress the natural doubts, queries, or remonstrances of the intelligent and loyal subordinate in a non-fighting organization. In an industrial concern, a school system, or a government bureau there ought to be an interchange of thought between those who have to determine policies and those who may be called upon to carry them out.

Again, does or does not the task in hand put a great *strain* on ordinary human nature? The more it does so the stricter will be the discipline, the harsher the penalties for disobedience. This is the culminating reason why military discipline is more methodical than any other, why rigid training is so insisted on for a man of so little skill as the common soldier. To build a habit that shall hold him steady before the cannon's mouth and cold steel—this is the reason for the endless drill, the rhythmic regularity, the automatic obedience exacted by the makers of armies. "A perfect army would be one in which each part

would respond to the will of the commander as quickly and certainly as the muscles of the body respond to the impulses of the brain."

2 Another determinant of organization is the character of the organized. The peon, the green immigrant, the navvy, the needy working-girl, the child operative, are driven or underpaid because they are helpless. They are fined heavily for slight faults, not because team work demands it, but just because they are weak. On the other hand, those who enjoy options, the accountant, the ship's mate, the experienced salesman, the engineering expert, must needs be driven with a loose rein. In a dramatic troupe, or a symphony orchestra, the need of harmony of effort is much greater than in a factory, yet the discipline is never harsh, because actors and musicians are in a stronger moral and economic position than mill hands.

The more intelligent the rank and file of an organization the less is the need of prestige and severity in order to uphold the authority of the superior. Before hinds it may be necessary to set the officer apart by sword, gold lace, feathers, charger, and sternness of demeanor, in order that he may be looked upon as a higher being; but intelligent enlisted men may regard their officer as above them in a military sense without feeling that he is above them in everything. Likewise the head of a school system, a hospital, or a bureau, while he must command the confidence of his teachers, nurses, or agents, needs not inspire them with fear or awe in order to get his plans carried out.

Unpaid workers cannot be disciplined by the crude methods of reprimand, fine, lay-off, demotion, or dismissal, but must be reached through esprit de corps or conscience. Unless it inflicts death, a secret revolutionary organization cannot punish without risking betrayal. A heavy hand on boy scouts, party workers, Red Cross volunteers, or friendly visitors will in the end disrupt the organization. The member of a relief party or an exploring expedition is controlled chiefly through pressure by his fellows. In the religious order, the priesthood, the ministry, or the foreign mission, the fulcrum for authority is the solemn vow and the acceptance of this vow by order, church, or mission board. The contrast between exacted and volunteer service is so broad that the executive who has conducted with success military or industrial organization may fail ignominiously when directing a body of scholars, missionaries, or social workers.

3 A third determinant of organization is the spacing between the organized. Men fall more readily into the grades imposed by the technique of associated effort if they are already spaced. Thus the

authority of superior over subordinate chafes little if the former is *older*. The instructor cheerfully bows to the head professor's twenty years' advantage in experience. Boy scouts find it easy to obey their adult leader. The snowy crown of abbot or bishop lends a fatherly character to his authority. The young fellows in the ranks are literally "boys" to the grizzled colonel and they feel that "the old man knows." The cub reporters will run their heads off to execute the orders of the old war horse at the managing editor's desk. Sex reinforces age in making it easy for the male school superintendent to direct the work of young women teachers and for the male doctor to hold in obedience young women nurses.

Special knowledge and training set apart their possessor. The men on the team recognize the fitness of their taking orders from the star player who coaches them. Artisans accept as master the architect with his wealth of technical knowledge. To their lieutenant enlisted men attribute all manner of inscrutable wisdom acquired at West Point. Singers feel a wide gulf between themselves and the chorus director who from a thousand voices can create a single mighty instrument. Knowledge of the mysteries of navigation helps put a distance between forecastle and cabin.

Finally, it makes a difference whether the controlling purpose in an organization is the doing of a worth-while work or the maximizing of profits. 4- As a rule, capable workers become interested in some concrete aspect of what they are doing. A railroad force will be keen for mastering snowdrifts and floods, for making schedule time, breaking records, beating a rival road, or perfecting the service. Now, this disinterested eagerness is best developed when the president of the railroad is a railroad man, when the newspaper owner is a newspaper man, when the schools are under an educator, and when the philanthropy is in charge of a social worker. But it dies when Capital comes out in plain view, takes the reins, and drives for profits without heed to excellence. Zeal is chilled in artisans required to make sham things instead of real, in reporters when their news stories are killed in the interest of advertisers, in railroad men when avaricious banker management denies their plea for safety devices, in teachers when their chief is an agent of property-owners working to keep taxes down, and in professors when their head is not a scholar but a money-raiser, or a conservative deputized to "sit on the lid." In such fields as protection, education, communication, transportation, and publicity, the ascendancy of the commercial motive deadens the spirit of real efficiency. One object of the

extension of government activity in these fields is the substituting of *service* for *profit* as the motivating force behind the organization.

THE BENEFITS OF ORGANIZATION

1. The accomplishment of ends which are quite unattainable by means of unorganized efforts. In weather forecasting, canal digging, railroad operation, or the postal service, unorganized effort is completely impotent to furnish the desired result.

2. A common interest cared for intermittently by all—such as fire-fighting, thief-catching, levee-mending, or road-making—may be turned over to the continuous efforts of a few who have gained skill from experience or fitted themselves by a preliminary training.

3. The division of a work into its natural parts and the assignment of these to different individuals permit the utmost advantage to be taken of special aptitude, knowledge, or training. Conversely, men with particular weak spots may keep to lines of work in which they are not handicapped by them.

4. Narrowing the field of attention is favorable to the attainment of a higher degree of expertness. All sorts of deliberative bodies organize themselves into committees, each to study a particular class of questions.

5. Many distinct efforts are fitted into a single, comprehensive, intelligent plan. We see this not only in industry and war but also in a clearing-house, an educational system, a party effort, an agitation, a propaganda, a commercial campaign, weather observation, and scientific research, in so far as they are well organized.

One reason why many matters which might be looked after locally—such as public security, poor relief, the care of defectives, public education, the administration of highways and forests—have so often devolved upon the State is that the State has the better chance of finding able and expert men to provide the plan and determine the policies under which the work shall be conducted.

6. Coördination into a larger whole corrects that needless duplication of effort which often shows itself among agencies which are striving for the same end, such as charities, missionary undertakings, educational institutions, propagandist groups, and reform movements.

7. Elimination of the wastes of competition is possible. Combination among producers in the same line ought to cut down their outlay for advertising, salesmen, selling agencies, and cross-freights.

8. Serving as a useful part in a great, beneficent, permanent organ-

ization supplies some men with a large superpersonal end which appeals to their imagination and sustains them in their life work.

9. Not all men are fit for solitary work. Many a man finds in working on a team an inspiration and a stimulus he can find nowhere else.

THE WASTES OF ORGANIZATION

1. In a team or gang, the man who directs is also a doer, but, as the group becomes larger, there comes a time when he drops his tools, and from that moment begins the burden of "overhead expense." In large enterprises the cost of the timekeepers, checkers, inspectors, storekeepers, overseers, bosses, foremen, superintendents, and managers becomes a serious offset to the saving effected by intelligently concerted effort.

2. In an organization that has not outgrown the powers of one man, the manager's eye checks waste of time and material, and his memory holds the records; but in the big concern there must be installed an elaborate system of record, check, and audit which constitutes another deduction from the operative force.

3. A tendency to formalism and red tape. A French commission on the naval budget found that in the ministry "hundreds of employés are occupied exclusively at calculating, transcribing, copying into innumerable registers, reproducing on countless fly-leaves, dividing, totalizing, or despatching to the minister figures that have no reality, that correspond to nothing in the region of facts, which would probably be nearer the truth if they were one and all invented."

4. There is, finally, the relative inflexibility of all machinery composed of numerous correlated parts. No complex organization is prompt to adapt itself to rapidly changing conditions.

THE ABUSES OF ORGANIZATION

1. Executives may misapply the power entrusted to them. Nepotism? may govern appointments and promotions. A post-office department may be made a political machine. High military commands may be used to win publicity and prestige. The railroad president may manage his road to promote his secret stock speculations. The head of a central organization may encroach on the local chapters under pretext of efficiency, but really from craving for power. Superior may misuse his authority over subordinate to gratify his lust of domination, to exact a

tribute of flattery, to indulge a personal spite, to keep down a possible rival, or to cover up his own shortcomings.

2. There is a constant tendency for organizations to become top-heavy—too many officers for the privates, too many planners and supervisors and too few doers, too many dawdlers about headquarters or the main office and too few at the front, on the road, on the firing-line, at the railhead, behind the crowbar, or before the mast.

3. Men in different departments of a large organization may become too specialized to take one another's viewpoint or to work smoothly together. The soldier in the field, the salesman on the road, the engineer on the line, all have their troubles with the man in the office.

Overspecialization may be prevented by rotating men through related functions. Temporary details from the line are substituted for permanent appointments on the staff. Men in the forestry service spend half the year in the bureau and half in the forests. The hampering of good men by the mistaken vigilance of clerks in an accounting bureau thousands of miles away is obviated by sending out traveling auditors to examine accounts. Friction between engineer officers and regular officers of the navy is removed by amalgamating the two corps. General managers combat overspecialization by getting the heads of departments to lunch together frequently and "talk things over," or, better yet, group them into committees to examine and report on particular problems.

4. The organization becomes an end rather than a means. Army officers oppose a cutting down of the military establishment when the nation comes into a safer position. Partisans continue to work for the success of their party long after it has bartered away its principles and forgotten its ideals. The educational system cannot be induced to consider the child and ask itself what real good it is doing. Pious clergymen will labor to advance the ends of their church after it has become a soulless ecclesiastical machine, the foe of true spirituality. Railroad officials who have risen from the ranks develop a loyalty to the company which leads them to commit for it crimes they would not commit for themselves. In general, it is outside forces rather than inside forces which keep an organization in proper relation to its work and to other interests of society.

THE SACRIFICES ORGANIZATION REQUIRES

Human nature shaped by a primitive life in the woods does not easily lend itself to the demands of technical efficiency. Night duty, monotonous toil, and sedentary work are to most of us made tolerable

only by habit. Still greater is the strain of being a cog in some intricate machine. Unquestioning obedience, for instance—how revolting it is at first to any intelligent person! Team harness may be cruelly galling to such as are not quick at personal adjustment. Punctuality, schedule, method, regularity of stroke, standardized performance—these surely go against the native grain. Machinery should be built of metal, not of living, plastic beings. It is significant that the orator rarely and the poet never has struck fire on contemplating human organization.

Hence, there ought always to be reserved a large place for those who in organization feel like squirrels in cages, those to whom freedom and spontaneity are the breath of life. Society should leave a broad footing for the solitary worker who labors when and where and as he pleases. Under excess of routine we tend to become wooden and unresponsive, so that the artist type, that depends on mood and whim, that waits for the moment of inspiration, will be needed to revive and freshen us as the system of group labor extends.

PRESERVING FREEDOM UNDER ORGANIZATION

Since it is the fate of most of us to work in some kind of organization and since no organization can function without discipline, what is to become of individual freedom? There are various means of saving it:

1. By securing to the individual member of the organization a voice and a share in determining the rules and policies by which he is bound. This is "government by the consent of the governed." It is exemplified in faculty control of the university as against presidential control, in lay control of the church as against clerical control, in the determination of party nominations and policies by the "rank and file," instead of by delegate conventions and central committees. The inmates of a prison are allowed to form their "mutual welfare league," while school children make rules for the use of their playground.

2. By the organization confining its control to matters which clearly affect its legitimate work. This implies that officers will not seek to control the political utterances or action of enlisted men, that the school board will not deny its teachers the freedom enjoyed by the ordinary citizen, that the priest will not from the pulpit tell his flock how to vote, that the employer will not control the life of his employees outside the workshop.

3. By protecting the right of members of an organization to have special unions of their own to look after their interests. While the

impartial now acknowledge the propriety of trade unions, the right of public servants to organize themselves is called in question. But experience shows that often bureaucrats will not pay attention to the reasonable protests of public employees unless there is behind them an organization which can make him trouble. Such an organization should exist, not for striking or sustaining strikes against the public, but for formulating, presenting or agitating grievances and aspirations.

4. By preserving to the individual freedom of withdrawal from the organization. The right to quit is a great safeguard of other rights. The right of workingmen to strike should be upheld. Only lately has the seaman gained the right to quit ship whenever the anchor is down. Enlisted men ought to be allowed to get out of the army in peace time without excessive difficulty. The law sees to it that the terms of withdrawal from the building and loan association, the coöperative society, or the mutual life insurance company are not made unreasonably onerous.

INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

1. As regards the selection and placement of men, it is not always best that the man in charge of a work should pick his helpers unaided. The master of a technique may be a poor judge of men. Not only is it costly to "try out" the unfit man, but often the man who has failed in one post would succeed in some other place in the organization. The difficulty of getting the round peg into the round hole and the square peg into the square hole is so great that some organizations, in adding to their personnel, call in the experimental psychologist or the character expert.

2. A vacancy to be filled raises the question: "New blood or promotion?" The shortsighted executive imports a seasoned outsider "who can do the work." This policy deadens the force and in the long run deters the capable from joining. To the more enterprising in an organization the prospect of rising is the only thing in it which lends interest to the future. In a well-built organization there will be no "blind-alley" or "dead-end" jobs leading to nothing. Normal promotion routes—with short cuts for the very exceptional man and cross-paths for one who changes his goal—should be worked out for every position, and posted charts showing such routes should visualize to each worker his path of possible advancement. The prick of the spur will be sharpest when selection for advancement is made on merit as revealed in carefully kept records of each man's performance.

3. *Incentive* has to be carefully considered. The appeal to *fear* is the first recourse of the dull, unimaginative manager. Yet the low productiveness of all slave labor in comparison with free labor ought to have made it clear that the normal man can be *led* at a faster pace than he can be *driven*.

Graduated reward lures one to do his utmost. Pay, in addition to a fixed element, should include an element varying with one's efficiency—premium, bonus, a commission on one's sales, or on the profits of one's sales—or with one's length of service. Insurance, permanency of employment, and retiring allowance after a term of service leave good men free to do their best work.

Since *honor* is coveted as well as *money*, honor should be as carefully graduated and as punctually paid. In order to whet the eagerness to earn advancement, something, however slight, should be used to distinguish men of each grade from those below. It may be a uniform, a stripe, a band of gold braid, a cap, or a button. It may be the right of precedence, of dining at a reserved table, entering by a special door, sitting on a higher seat, or having one's desk behind a railing or on a raised floor. Whatever be the mark of honor, it should be *patent* without being conspicuous, its value should be *symbolic* rather than intrinsic, it should be *certain* to him who is entitled to it, and it should be consistently withheld from all others.

Pitting gang against gang, shop against shop, branch office against branch office, school against school, battleship against battleship, rouses the spirit of emulation. The party organizer gets his workers vying to see whose ward will roll up the biggest majority for the party ticket. The gun squads of different battleships engage in the hottest rivalry for honors in marksmanship. The trusts stimulate production by playing plant against plant and mill against mill.

4. In contrast to the fostering of loyalty and *esprit de corps* the ancient authorities made little use of "imponderables." "Hear, tremble, and obey" was supposed to provide every incentive. But as we learn more about human nature more heed is given to the spirit of the rank and file. It is something if one feels himself to be a member of a popular and honorable organization. When the soldier's uniform commands respect, when a university is old and famous, *esprit de corps* comes of itself. Even street sweepers develop it after the public has been taught to appreciate the work of the street-cleaning department.

If the chiefs keep all the glory, the underlings have the deadening sense of being mere instruments. So, if he is wise, the commander

passes the credit down to the common soldier, the administrator ascribes his success to his zealous subordinates, and the railroad manager attributes the safety on his line to the men at the throttle.

The rivalry of one organization with another soon kindles *esprit de corps*. The competition of two neighboring cities invigorates their commercial organizations. The approach of an election sets party workers "on edge." Intercollegiate contests in debating and athletics produce "college spirit." When competing transcontinental railroads have been merged it has been found advisable to preserve their distinct organizations in order to retain the stimulus of rivalry.

CENTRALIZATION

History shows a marked drift of authority from the local toward the general. Religion tends to lose itself in shallows unless the local congregation is knit up with others into a general church. A Greek-letter fraternity will see its standards lost sight of if it lacks in district organization and a strict supervision over its local chapters. Any local association for general objects is subject to vagary and fatuousness unless it is steadied by membership in a general organization, which of necessity has attained to clear-cut aims and rational methods.

In the management of common affairs there is much to be said for the general as against the local political body. Too often local control sacrifices general and permanent interests to individual and immediate interests. Local control of education leaves its fate on the whole to men of less caliber and vision than those who determine it under state control. Local care of highways means less outlay on the roads of the commonwealth than sound economy demands. Local administration of forests or care of public health will generally be less enlightened than that of the state. Law enforcement by locally chosen officers permits each locality to be a law unto itself. In a word, removing control farther from the ordinary citizen and tax-payer is tantamount to giving the intelligent, far-sighted, and public-spirited element in society a longer lever to work with.

On the other hand, matters which can be appreciated by common sense, such as the providing of local conveniences, etc., should be left to the local community.

MEETING THE STRAIN OF ORGANIZATION

We have seen that the requirements of combined effort go rather against the native grain. As organization comes to embrace more of

us, certain adjustments are necessary if human beings are not to become painfully warped. One is ample provision for holiday and recreation, to allow the bent bow to straighten. Another is access to a variety of means of recreation. The more closely the individual is boxed in while at work by schedule, routine, and direction the wider should be his range of choice out of working hours and the more scrupulously should his freedom to choose be respected. The more one's work conforms to plan, or pattern, or orders, the more one's manner of life and one's disposal of leisure time must be relied on to nourish and to express an individuality. This is why that unity in moral and religious ideas and in ground pattern of life which has sometimes worked out quite well among a peasant or fisher folk is an utterly impossible and undesirable ideal for a people subject to the trying discipline of modern organization.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show how the nature of its task determines the character of an organization.
2. Show that the military type of organization has spread into fields where it does not suit.
3. Show how the character of the organized determines the character of an organization.
4. How are volunteer workers disciplined?
5. Show the significance of the spacing between the organized.
6. What are the benefits of organization?
7. What are the wastes of organization?
8. What are the abuses of organization?
9. How may freedom be preserved under organization?

EXERCISES

135. Would we do well to save money by replacing our three-man state commissions by single commissioners?
136. What are the chief outside forces which may help an organization to keep in proper relation to other interests in society?
137. What might be urged against the policy of tolerating non-striking unions among public employees?
138. Can routine workers stand the strait-laced Sunday such as our farming ancestors submitted to?
139. Do you think fondness for camping out is likely to become more general? Why?
140. What might be urged on behalf of local control and against the view presented in the text?

Organization of will - deciding what to do
Organization of effort - doing it.
Coöperate in bringing several
trains to a common process.

CHAPTER XXI

THE ORGANIZATION OF WILL

deciding

AN organization responds either to the will of an individual or to the will of a group. The process by which a group will is arrived at may be termed the *organization of will*. In the *organization of effort*, the movement is from the controlling purpose to the coöordinated efforts of the various persons who contribute to its accomplishment. In the *organization of will*, the movement is from the wills of individual members to the controlling purpose which unifies the activities of the group.

In an army, a railroad, a government department, and a municipal service, we see only *organization of effort*. In a church framing its creed, a party drawing up its declaration of principles, a Futurist group hammering out its manifesto, a guild standardizing mercantile usage, and a labor union passing upon a trade agreement, we see only *organization of will*. On the other hand, workmen engaging in a strike which has been ordered by the union, farmers delivering their milk to a creamery established by their coöperative effort, the fellows of a learned society prosecuting coöperative research upon lines laid down by the society illustrate how, with respect to the same matter, both *will* and *effort* may be organized within a single group.

Usually the organization of wills has taken place in a general assembly of those concerned. How far this makes for a free organizing of wills depends upon a number of factors:

(a) To what extent is the assembly protected from disturbance, interruption, or intimidation?

(b) Is it in the power of any one to dissolve the assembly against its will?

(c) Can it consider any matter? Or may it consider only such matters as are mentioned in the summons or are brought before it by the summoners?

(d) Is the assembly convened for the purpose of ascertaining the wills of the members as to a matter, or in order to make known and win support for a policy which has already been decided upon by the head men?

The process by which a group
comes to one unified purpose.
getting people connected. Deciding

(e) Who may speak? Only officials, chiefs, or distinguished persons; any one invited by the presiding officer; any one called out by the assembly; or any one "recognized" by the presiding officer?

(f) Is discussion ample and complete before a vote is taken?

(g) Is the prevalent will expressed by cheers, shouts, or clash of weapons—which method expresses intensity of conviction as well as numbers—or by registering the wills of individuals?

(h) In case voting is *viva voce* instead of by ballot, is the order of voting haphazard or according to age, rank, or other mark of distinction? This is important because in the latter case the early voters may have an influence upon those who vote later.

(i) Does a majority vote decide or is unanimity requisite as it was in the ancient Russian town assemblies and the Polish diet?

VARIETIES OF WILL ORGANIZATION

As the matters to be settled become numerous or technical, the method of always taking "the sense of the meeting" becomes too burdensome, so that a board will be chosen to make minor decisions for the group, major matters still being reserved for the general assembly. These men may be granted power for so long as the majority of the members are satisfied with them, or for a stated term. If experienced management and continuity of policy be essential to the prosperity of group affairs, and if the superior fitness of certain members for handling these affairs be evident to all, the group may clothe them with authority for a long term or for life and cease to reserve certain fundamental matters for popular decision.

In case an association becomes large and the membership scattered, the periodical convening of all in general assembly has to be given up. The local assemblies sometimes take turns in looking after the common concerns of the entire society, as was the practice during the early years of certain British trade unions. Then delegates are sent by these local assemblies to sit in a deliberative body which acts for the entire group. When the delegate becomes member of a permanent body during a fixed term and speaks for his constituents on all matters that may come up, he becomes a *representative* and the group comes under *representative government*.

With the officials who execute or serve the will of the group, this representative assembly may have various relations. It may appoint them, or they may be the choice of the group membership. It may mark out their sphere, or they may have a sphere independent of it.

It may make laws which they are to enforce, adopt policies which they are to carry out, or it may leave them for the most part a free hand, contenting itself with granting money according to its degree of satisfaction with their conduct. In short, the will of an organized group may be derived directly and in the simplest way from the wills of the members, or it may be so independent of them as to be able to defy them or to mold them at pleasure. The members may decide everything, they may decide only certain fundamental matters or they may decide only who shall decide.

HOW THE COMPOSITION OF THE GROUP DETERMINES ITS WILL ORGANIZATION

Is membership in the group a matter of free will? So far as association is voluntary, there is a curb to the overriding of the wishes of the rank and file by the head men. Arbitrary, high-handed action may provoke so many withdrawals as to weaken or break up the group. It is because one cannot quit civil society at will that in political government persist abuses of power which would never be tolerated for long in a voluntary association.

In case quitting the group entails a serious sacrifice, members tolerate the unauthorized exercise of power. Therefore, the more solid and obvious the advantages an organization offers, or the worse the lot of the man who stands outside it, the more patiently will the members submit themselves. The doctrine, "No salvation outside the Church," reconciles the devout to the control of a hierarchy. In China, where "the craftsman who is not a gild member is as one exposed to the wintry blast without a cloak," the deference of the member to gild authority is very great.

Much depends on whether or not a society is in its formative period. A young society, holding out to the public rosy prospects rather than realized benefits, will be ostentatiously democratic, for it must be able to convince the inquirer that the members control everything, that there is no "inside ring." On the other hand, a society that has accumulated property, prestige, reputation, or other valuable assets, will attract members even if it denies them an immediate voice in its management. This is one reason why old and successful associations develop a government as centralized as their affairs may require, whereas young associations must be democratic whether or not their affairs prosper under democracy. It also explains why an old association is liable to become the prey of a small governing clique.

attitude of mind different between men
& women, old & young, rich & poor,

When the members of a group differ little among themselves the head men will be limited in power and held to account for their official acts. In reform associations, social clubs, professional bodies, and learned societies one never finds blind submission to the dictates of the executive council or board. But in religious bodies, and communistic groups, the great inequality among members in respect to wisdom, fervor, and vision often lodges mastery in the natural leaders. If, however, such individuals have ample opportunity to lead the opinion of the rest, they need no large grant of authority, seeing that they bring their superiority to bear through influence rather than through power. This is why a community under direct membership control may still be guided by its best men.

The shift from direct democracy to a representative system may come about as a consequence of mere growth in membership. When an assembly includes more than four hundred, oratory and crowd-feeling are apt to run away with good judgment. The history of the *ekklesia*, or general assembly of Athens, shows what happens in a gathering so large as to induce in both speakers and hearers the theatrical spirit. At this point it is necessary to form a small representative body to take over all questions which cannot be answered by a simple "Yes" or "No." The town meeting gives way to government by mayor and common council.

Again, if the members of the group dwell dispersed over a large territory, its control will be monopolized by the members who live near the place of meeting, together with such as have the leisure and means to attend from a distance. Such an advantage of the few calls for the early introduction of the representative system.

HOW THE PURPOSE OF THE GROUP DETERMINES ITS WILL ORGANIZATION

Other determiners of the mode of organization of will depend upon the purpose of the group. In an association formed for a *temporary* purpose, the will of the majority naturally prevails; while in an *enduring* group there are others to be considered than the present members. The rule of the older and wiser is urged on behalf of members past and to come. A society for registering and focusing *opinion* will be directly controlled by its members, whereas a group formed for *action* is likely to feel the need of conferring broad powers upon its executive. In case this action is to bear directly upon the *members themselves*, they will be more careful to define and to hedge the powers of their agents than if this action is to be exerted only upon *outsiders*. In missionary,

propagandist, philanthropic, and educational societies, one finds less jealousy of delegated power than in town meetings, coöperative societies, trade unions, and communistic groups.

The willingness to leave everything to the leaders, which is so marked when one risks merely an annual contribution, does not appear when the ordinary member has much at stake. In a society which may by its action compromise the safety, liberty, property, or prestige of the individual member, the rank and file are likely to be tenacious of their right to be consulted and to hold officials to strict responsibility.

When an organization considers itself sole custodian of a precious body of doctrines, mysteries, or rites, its control will be highly centralized. Only the fully initiated are held worthy to be intrusted with the transmission of the sacred lore. In religious orders, in the Masonic order, and other hoary secret confraternities, in venerable guilds and ecclesiastical bodies, the care to hand on an uncorrupted tradition centers authority in some Supreme Chapter or Grand Lodge, composed entirely of head men, or else confides it to a select circle of the older and more experienced. The early appearance of presbyters or elders, bishops, and metropolitans in the Christian church seems to have been due to the felt need of keeping the faith pure from the heresies spread by unauthorized teachers and prophets.

property or wealth
The administering of corporate property is not favorable to the keeping of power by the general assembly of the members. A group that becomes wealthy is likely to lose its early democracy. A town meeting may make wise decisions as to roads, ferries, and common lands, for these are well understood by all; but diversified property interests requiring intelligent care if they are to remain productive have to be intrusted to the management of a select few. From his study of village communities, Maine concludes that "the autocratically governed manorial group is better suited than the village group for bringing under cultivation a country in which waste lands are extensive. So also does it seem to me likely to have been at all times more tolerant of agricultural novelties."

HOW THE NATURE OF THE MATTER TO BE DEALT WITH DETERMINES WILL ORGANIZATION

If a matter lies within the ken of all and the proper disposal of it does not call for technical knowledge, it may well be settled in general assembly. The folk-mote of the ancient village community was quite at home in considering the time of mowing the common meadow, the

rights of pasturage on the waste, the reallocation of plow land, and the upkeep of roads and irrigation canals. In the town meeting of our ancestors, the opening of highways, the building of bridges, the treatment of strayed stock, the maintenance of the school, and the care of the poor were well within the grasp of common minds lit up by sober discussion.

But when a group is obliged to deal with matters outside the experience or knowledge of its ordinary members, power is likely to be delegated. The running of a coöperative store, elevator, or creamery lodges decision in a manager subject to a board of directors. The proper adjustment of dues and benefits is so technical a problem that, once the insurance feature has become prominent in a fraternal order or a friendly society, power tends to concentrate. The miners' courts of the California gold diggings dispensed a rough-and-ready justice so long as disputes related to sluice-boxes and claims; but as soon as property relations became complicated by leases, contracts, and debts, the camp chose a judge to try cases.

When external relations are in the foreground, the members of a group are conscious of being on thin ice. Knowing little of the outside forces with which the group must come to terms, they have to trust the few who appear to understand them. Hence the delicate process of adjustment—to church, to law, or to civil authorities, to other like groups, to a central body, to antagonists, or to competitors—prompts a more liberal grant of power to the head men of a group. When home affairs are overshadowed by foreign affairs, the situation strengthens parliament against public, ministry against parliament, throne against people. The security of a sea-girt or mountain-girt people favors the growth of popular government, but it is otherwise if the national economy comes to be based on foreign trade or if wide-flung empire permanently exalts remote matters above near matters. *Imperialism is of necessity anti-democratic.*

Does the question to be dealt with relate to policy or to the means of carrying out a policy? The latter is likely to involve technical knowledge and naturally will be passed up to the better informed. The full congregation will decide on the question of church union, but hardly on the exact terms of such union. The members of a coöperative society are fitter to debate the question of forming branches than to lay down the rights and duties of the daughter society respecting the mother society. To the citizens may well be referred the questions: *Shall we build a capitol? Shall we bond ourselves for highway*

improvement? Shall we establish "mothers' pensions"? Shall we protect game? but not questions as to the plan of the state house, the type of road to be built, the conditions of granting aid to the mothers of dependent children, or the length of the closed season for game.

Again, a membership may establish certain agencies or institutions, leaving their precise mode of operation to be otherwise determined. Whether a scientific society shall found a research laboratory, a town organize a fire brigade, a trade union start an out-of-work fund, or a church establish a mission board may be decided by the members; but the many subordinate decisions which hinge upon their affirmative action in such cases must be made upon the basis of a fuller knowledge of details than they can hope to acquire.

Even if the members of a group confide to a select body the making of laws, creed, ritual, declaration of principles, or code of discipline, they will keep their hands on matters in the deciding of which their agents may have an interest contrary to that of the general membership. It is, therefore, in financial affairs that the resistance to the centralization of power is most stubborn. Let the head men hold the steering wheel if only their constituents grasp the brake! In a jealous control of the alienation of corporate property, the incurring of debt, the audit of accounts, the tenure and compensation of officials, the appropriation of funds, the distribution of burdens, or the entering into trade agreement, alliance, or merger, the spirit of self-government may show itself long after all other corporate decisions have been passed up to the select or the expert.

WHY FIGHTING GROUPS CENTRALIZE DECISION

Frequent emergencies, calling for quick decisions, favor the concentrating of power. When *promptitude* is clearly essential to success, the molding of many wills into one is felt to be too time-consuming. While the meeting deliberates or the election goes on, the golden moment for action may have passed, never to return. Under such circumstances, the handicap democracy imposes is plain to all. Hence, the more recurrent the need of prompt decision, the more willing are the members of a group to confide large powers to a few.

The need of secrecy has the same effect. It is impossible for many to take part in making a decision if that decision is to be concealed from foes or competitors.

Now, in all forms of strife—commercial rivalry, industrial struggle, political contest, negotiation, diplomacy, and warfare—both prompt-

ness and secrecy are necessary. Hence, fighting groups finally lodge large power in the hands of the trusted few. Stockholders limit themselves to turning out one board of directors and putting in another. Unionists may insist on the ballot for the calling or ending of a strike, but, while the fight is on, they allow decisions of the gravest import to be made by their officials. The rank and file of political parties may pick the nominees, but the conduct of the campaign is left in the hands of an irresponsible committee. A democratic government at war is evidently handicapped as to promptness and secrecy of decision. Hence during a serious national war public discussion is damped, the press is curbed, the legislature becomes less responsible to the electors, and the executive becomes less responsible to the legislature.

CHARACTER AS AFFECTED BY MODE OF ORGANIZING GROUP WILL

Taking part in the making of group will strengthens character and exclusion therefrom weakens it. In Canada, under the old French régime, no local self-government was tolerated. Roads and bridges were under a royal official. Municipal officers there were none. The ordinances of the *intendant* and the council were law. All aspirations for a larger liberty were thwarted by governor, *intendant*, and bishop acting on instructions from the King of France.

What was the type of character produced? When during the Revolution the American conquest brought the French creoles of the Illinois country under institutions of self-government, they were, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, "hopelessly unable to grapple with the new life. They had been accustomed to the paternal rule of priest and military commandant and they were quite unable to govern themselves, or to hold their own with the pushing, eager, and often unscrupulous newcomers." The early withdrawal of the Americans left the French free to do as they pleased. "Accustomed for generations to a master, they could do nothing with their new-found liberty beyond making it a curse to themselves and their neighbors." The judges they had elected "had no idea of their proper functions as a governing body to administer justice. At first they did nothing whatever beyond meet and adjourn." Finally they went to granting one another immense tracts of adjacent wild land. Plunged into chaos, the creoles sent petition after petition to Congress. "There is one striking difference between these petitions and the similar requests and complaints made from time to time by the different groups of American settlers west of the Alleghanies. Both alike set forth the evils which the petitioners suffered, and the necessity

of governmental remedy. But whereas the Americans invariably asked that they be allowed to govern themselves, being delighted to undertake the betterment of their condition on their own account, the French, on the contrary, habituated through generations to paternal rule, were more inclined to request that somebody fitted for the task should be sent to govern them." Yet these creoles were descendants of people who had once managed their common affairs in local assemblies. The most beautiful products of the Middle Ages, the churches, town halls, and cathedrals of France and Flanders, were financed by the people living all their lives near them, every man having a voice in the matter.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show that the more essential an organization is to its members the more they will submit to control by the few.
2. Show that the young society will be ostentatiously democratic.
3. Why does the rich successful association so often fall into the hands of a clique?
4. Show that majority rule is more natural in temporary than in perpetual associations.
5. Show that custody of a sacred lore concentrates control.
6. Why does the fighting group centralize decision?
7. Explain how the mode of organizing group will react upon character.

EXERCISES

141. Should a legislature called in special session be restricted to the matters named in the governor's call? *yes, they should.*
142. What considerations caused the party nominating-convention to be discarded in favor of the direct primary?
143. Would it be better if the membership of our House of Representatives—now 435—did not exceed 250? Reasons.
144. Why are the Swiss, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Czecho-Slovaks, etc., more likely to keep their government under effective control than the people of the Great Powers?
145. Would it be a good thing for the State University if its biennial budget could be forced to a referendum by a small minority (say 10 per cent.) of the voters?

We get our knowledge from experience
of fathers & base our conclusions
upon it.

well.

CHAPTER XXH

THE ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

thinking.

A ^N idea tower like Roman law or the *Nibelungenlied* is no less a team product than Solomon's Temple or the Panama Canal. No cathedral embodies the labors of so many generations of artificers as the science, let us say, of astronomy. The Common Law, the Yogi philosophy of India, or a matured branch of knowledge like Physics constitutes a well-knit system, and yet no one head, or even score of heads, can claim the credit of so much logic. The process of thus articulating ideas from different minds as steel beams are fitted together into a bridge span may be termed *the organization of thought.*

Common opinion, too, is usually the residue of many individual contributions which have been winnowed each in the minds of the rest. Behind the eighteenth-century Liberal movement, the Romantic movement, the Oxford movement, behind Impressionism, Realism, Symbolism, or Anarchism, lies a complex of ideas which no one man propounded. A "school" of thought, of literature, or of art starts not always with master and disciples, founder and followers; often it begins with a band of like-minded rebels against the conventional, who stimulate and influence one another until they work out a creed, a style, or a manner which can make its way.

There is intellectual team work, too, on much smaller problems than those of the great society. In each group—church, college, trade union, or coöperative society—there goes on a working out of opinion as to the special problems and policies of that group; and, while opinion *may* reflect the counsel of some sage member, it is usually the outcome of coöperative thinking.

INTELLECTUAL SPECIALIZATION LEADS TO PARASITISM

As society develops, fewer of us bear a hand in organizing its thought. More and more our headaches come from the effort to appropriate the fruits of *other men's* thinking. The primitive tribesman had more influence on current ideas of right and wrong than has the common man after theologian and philosopher take the lead in fixing

The discovery of America was a social
thinking process, by which we
inherit others' ideas.

moral distinctions. Early law springs from the customs of the folk, but the time comes when judges and law-givers have most to do with its fashioning. Poetry improvised, sung and danced to, stanza by stanza, in the primitive festal crowd, ends as the handiwork of a few gifted word-smiths.

The reason for this concentration is near at hand. Team-thinking goes on only among persons well matched in equipment. Hence, as soon as there appear in any field men of special knowledge or training, with exceptional facilities in the way of collections, laboratories, travel, mutual access, and stimulating association, the rest of us content ourselves with walking henceforth in trails such men have blazed. In a word, just as we become parasites on the experts who wire our houses and test our food, so our minds become parasites on the specialized minds engaged in rearing law, morality, religion, literature, and science. More and more we retire to the side lines and watch the star players advance the ball. The bulk of us are consumers of the mental products of the masters, mere passengers who do nothing to get the ship forward, but pay the wages of those who work her.

UNCONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Worn path and made road are collective products, but the makers of the former knew not what they did. Until writing or printing made it possible to fix and identify the product of the individual artist or thinker, the organizing of thought into stable forms must have gone on mainly in an unconscious way. That greatest storehouse of thought, language, came into being by a process which scholars describe as growth, rather than production. Every word or phrase one coined had to run the gauntlet of the tribe. Only those which struck one's fellows as pat or fit survived, and these were trimmed or twisted to suit better the tongues or minds of the users.

So was it with the making of popular proverbs, saws, and riddles. Some, no doubt, were struck off perfect in an inspired moment; but others reached their terse and telling form only after many wits had helped to file and point and barb them. No end of sayings failed to "make a hit" and were forgotten; so that the ones treasured and handed down were just those which "rang a bell" in the average mind.

Nor are early myth, fairy tale, legend, folk-song, or ballad to be looked upon as the handiwork of the individual artist, like the modern poem or drama. Scholars now assure us that they were "communal" in origin, meaning, not that the "people" was their author, but that

so many had a hand in fashioning them and that, being transmitted only by oral tradition, they were so easily molded to the general taste, that each embodies and expresses not an *individual* mind, but the soul of the *tribe* or the *folk*. The author of the ballad is "the singing, dancing, improvising crowd." In the festal dance songs are built up bit by bit, one after another contributing a short improvisation in the intervals of a chorus. Winnowed, handed down, and gradually perfected, these become ballad and folk-song.

When a folk takes to reading, it loses the knack and the courage for improvising; communal poesy dies out, and the individual artist holds the center of the stage. Thus arises a kind of parasitism, the people at large becoming passive consumers of literature, while production shrinks to the one in ten thousand—the creative man of letters.

Once written down or printed, a man's work is tagged and stays as he left it. As such works accumulate, the communal fount dries up. Specialists and schools arise, so that the people at large have no part in advancing thought or art. The folk being out of it, why does not the individual take the bit in his teeth and bolt? Surely there will be confusion, a riot of temperament and caprice! No, the thought of an age shows much consistency and dovetails fairly well into the past. Most of the literary masterpieces of a period show certain common characteristics, as if the writers had been taking account of one another.

One reason is the dependence of the creative genius on other geniuses, living and dead. Few minds become pregnant with literature until they have been fructified by close acquaintance with the best that has been said or sung. Another organizing influence is the public, which acts as a sieve, letting some products of genius pass while others drop to the scrap heap. Since thinkers cannot give ethics or law a slant that shall bring it into constant clash with the popular sense of right, since poets and artists cannot long run counter to the popular taste, the barren public is after all a sleeping partner in the culture of the time. To the fertile spirits it might well utter the warning: "They reckon ill who leave me out." The public, however, has little to do with the rising structure of science. Unlike jurisprudence or literature, which have to suit themselves to the people, science has to conform to reality. Its line of advance is not determined by popular favor. A music the people will not listen to, a literature they will not read, a morality they will not approve, can hardly be said to exist for them; but a science they do not comprehend may be serving them in countless ways.

CONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Of the forms of organizing thought, Wallas says:

The simplest and oldest is that which is constituted by a small number of persons—from two to perhaps seven or eight—who meet together for the purpose of sustained oral discussion. This form may be studied at its finest point of development in the dialogues of Plato. It is, as the Greeks knew, extraordinarily difficult. At first sight it might appear that the main condition of its success is that it should be as little “organized” as possible, that the group should meet by accident, and that each member of the group should freely obey his casual impulses both in speaking and in remaining silent. But a closer examination shows that the full efficiency of argument, carried on even by the most informal body of friends, requires, not only that each should be master of the most delicate shades of the same language, and that each should be accustomed to make use of similar rules of Thought, but that they should have a large body of knowledge in common, that each should be familiar with the peculiar strength and weakness of each of the others, and, above all, that each should be influenced by the same desire to follow truth “whithersoever the argument may lead.” All this requires that the group should consist, not of men of average powers who have come accidentally together, but of men selected (as Socrates, for instance, selected his disciples) in some way which should secure that the worst of them should possess a rather unusual share of natural ability, acquired training, and interest in ideas. And normally, the necessary discipline and concentration cannot be secured unless some one of the party is accepted by the others as a leader, and does not abuse his position.

The neglect of dialectic in our own time he attributes to the difficulty of modern thinkers coming together frequently, to the use of print in circulating ideas, and to the fact that the scientist does much of his thinking while he is closely observing the concrete in the laboratory or the field. He insists, however, that we now rely too much on reading and solitary thinking, and that, in branches whose subject-matter is human action and feeling, oral dialectic “has magnificent possibilities of fertility.” One advantage is “a great extension of the range of immediate mental association.” The solitary thinker, having tackled a problem, “waits till some promising idea comes into his mind and then dwells on it till further ideas spring from it.” But if a group is engaged upon the problem, the waits are shorter, and each gets the benefit of such happy thoughts as occur to the others.

Apart from this, many minds are keyed to their best only when at

grips with other congenial minds. Solitude is needed, to be sure, for working out and fusing together ideas, but usually one's mind leaps and mounts best in discussion with a few kindred spirits who have like intellectual background and interest, attach the same meaning to words, and recognize the same rules of thought. The visible effort of each suggests a like effort to the rest. Challenge rouses the emulative spirit, and there is incitement in the evident zest of one's fellows in the sport of chasing ideas.

How disputation has fallen into discredit as an instrument for ascertaining truth! Recall the breathless interest in theological and metaphysical disputes in Christian Alexandria, Antioch, and Byzantium. In the Middle Ages it stood in high favor, and it was not until well into the modern era that Sir Henry Wotton observed: "The itch of disputing makes the scab of the churches." Once scholars could think of no better feat for the budding Doctor of Philosophy than to take an intellectual position and maintain it against all comers. Years ago in the University of Berlin I saw a youth qualify for his doctorate by defending his "thesis" against three friends, each attacking it in a speech prepared in advance by the candidate himself and gracefully surrendering after his objections had been neatly bowled over!

That we now see disputation as wrangling rather than *coöperation* is owing, no doubt, to the triumphs of science. The students of Nature have got on so wonderfully, not by wielding sharper wits than the Schoolmen had, but by resorting to observation, experiment, measurement, and record. Their technique succeeds even in attack upon the problems of mind, government, and society, so that every year sees it carried into new fields of inquiry. We realize now that *full knowledge of the relevant facts* is a prerequisite for profitable discussion. This was why the intellectual athletes of the Middle Ages did not get far with all their clever debates and polemics.

When men of science meet, much time is given to presenting the results of investigation, little to discussion. Such difference of opinion as may develop touching the correct interpretation of these results is presently traced to some flaw or ambiguity in the data, which can be removed by ascertaining certain facts not yet brought to light. So, if geologists differ as to the number of glacial periods the deposits indicate, instead of wrangling they scatter to renewed study of moraine and drift. Let sociologists disagree as to whether fewer births mean declining fertility or limitation of the family, and soon some one settles the matter by drawing out confidential information from some

hundreds of married couples. The continual expansion of government statistical inquiries testifies to the growing demand for adequate data as a basis for the profitable discussion of proposed laws and policies.

There is good reason why people harken more to intellectuals outside of public life—university presidents, inventors, scholars, philanthropists, and captains of industry—and less to parliamentary orators. The lawmaking body is so large that only by courtesy can it be called “deliberative.” It is there *to register will*, and this function keeps it bigger than any thinking group should be. It includes too many who are inert, or who talk “buncombe,” for the “folks back home.” The thinking members themselves are vitiated. Before an assembly so large they fire off “speeches of the lamp,” which so poorly focus upon the issues developed in discussion that opponents glide past each other like locomotives on parallel tracks. They are tempted to oratory, the foe of logic, and to partisan debate, the foe of reasonableness. Hence the “House” limits itself to ultimate decision, while the hammering of laws into shape goes on only in committees of a dozen men or less.

Thanks to our growing dependence on the vast impersonal organization that goes on far above our heads, reading is taking the place of oral intercourse as a source of ideas. Machinery and shop supervision are squeezing spoken discussion out of the working hours of wage-earners, while the reading habit restricts it in their leisure. Most urban minds feed on newspapers as silkworms feed on mulberry leaves. Upon the consciousness of multitudes the daily sheet stamps impressions, ideas, and beliefs, just as the Hoe press prints endlessly the same thing upon miles of white paper.

Even if the wider reading of magazines and books should check the manufacture of public opinion in this wholesale way by irresponsible newspaper owners, it would still be bad for the bulk of people never to get beyond so unstimulating a way of gaining ideas. Welcome, therefore, be the newer pedagogy which encourages the pupil to self-activity and trains him to debate and the oral interchange of ideas! Even more promising is the spread of “social centers” where neighbors in their common hall consider community problems of which they have first-hand knowledge.

THE PLANNED ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Take the political party. Where, as in South America, no machinery exists for eliciting judgment on public questions from numerous

scattered persons, the formulas of a party emanate from a few leaders, who put forth the best compromise they can make between what they think and what they imagine will appeal to the voters. In our early history a political program would be worked out by the members of Congress belonging to the same party. In a later stage local party supporters choose delegates to a convention which considers the declaration of principles laid before it by a large and representative "committee on the platform." Experience shows that, when the proper machinery is provided, a considerable number of persons can be included in the party brain.

The same tendency is to be seen in government. Now that every year it touches the lives of its citizens at more points, there is need of a wider organization of thought respecting particular projects of law. Since nowadays the legislative committee is the incubator of laws, one means of getting more thought behind a law is the public committee hearing, in which the spokesmen for scientific and professional bodies and for public welfare organizations frequently contribute judgments which a great many first-class minds have helped to form.

One foresees not only that committees will more often sit between legislative sessions and hold hearings in different places, so as to sample thoroughly the mind of the country, but that they will more frequently resort to the principal *thought foci* in society. Groups of disinterested experts such as are found in the Efficiency Society, the Genetic Association, the Life Extension Institute, the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and many like bodies, will be invited to give an opinion as to legislative proposals within their field, or even to formulate the essentials of a sound public policy.

In scientific inquiry intellectual coöperation is very old and highly developed. The Academy of Plato, who bequeathed to his followers his walled garden and appointments in the place in Athens named after the hero Hekademos, became the model for all scientific bodies and universities, just as the famous Museum of Alexandria gave its name to all our collections of scientific materials. In the words of Cicero, "It is from this Academy, as from a regular magazine of all the arts, that mathematicians, poets, musicians, aye, and physicians too, have proceeded!"

In the great research institution maintained in Alexandria by the Ptolemies, the state makes its first appearance as promoter of the arts and sciences. The brilliant contributions of the Alexandrian

school were due not wholly to the observatory, library, dissecting house, laboratories, and collections provided, nor even to the endowment of productive scholars. In the Museum, as in a modern university, were gathered astronomers, geographers, mathematicians, physicists, naturalists, and historians, who not only studied and meditated, but, through converse and debate, kindled one another to a brighter incandescence, like embers laid together.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the founding of "academies" of inquirers, who examined and discussed one another's contributions to knowledge and decided which deserved to be published. Italy led the way in forming such groups, the most famous of which is the *Accademia dei Lincei* ("of the lynx-eyed"), which had as one of its earliest English members the great champion of the inductive method, Lord Bacon, whose forecast of a great research institution in his *New Atlantis* was in a way realized in the founding in 1662 of the Royal Society of Great Britain. The Paris Academy of Sciences, instituted in 1666, has the most brilliant record of all for the sending out of scientific expeditions, the support of fruitful research undertakings, and the coördination of inquiries. The French Institute, incorporated shortly after the Revolution, has undoubtedly done more than any other single agency to focus choice minds upon the problems of pure knowledge.

In modern science, the tendency to vaster and more sustained co-operation is pronounced. Some learned societies have embarked on undertakings which have required well-nigh a century to complete. The investigation of natural events which recur infrequently, like earthquakes and sun-spot periods, or of very slow processes, like star movements, climatic alterations, land elevations or subsidences, and the evolutionary changes in organisms, call for a volume and continuity of effort far surpassing the scope and span of life of any individual inquirer. There is even an international association of academies which has helped bring about world-wide coöperation in solar research and in the anatomy of the human brain.

No doubt such teamwork is more successful in providing data than in discovering new truths. The history of science shows that the guiding and fruitful ideas which contain the seeds of later developments spring up in the mind of the solitary investigator or thinker. Remember Wordsworth's lines on Isaac Newton's statue at Cambridge:

The marble index of a mind forever
Wandering through strange fields of thought alone.

thinking - Advancing ^{application of wisdom} question
decisively
acting.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

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It is certain, however, that he who wrests new secrets from the Sphinx must watch the product of his coworkers everywhere and keep in constant and vital touch with everything that every creative mind the world over is doing in his field. Bound closely together by their special societies and journals, the attackers of the same problem in many lands form, as it were, a single band of treasure-seekers digging in neighboring spots for buried gold.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show how intellectual specialization lessens common participation in the organization of ideas. *Men with intellectual advantages, travel, collections lead we follow.*
2. Show that languages, proverbs, riddles, myths, and ballads are of collective origin. *we are not well matched in equipment*
3. Why is there no longer any folk product? *unconscious - no printing or writing, just handed down. people reading, consuming works of master minds.*
4. Show the value of oral dialectic in organizing thought. *widening of range of inquiry.*
5. Why has formal disputation fallen into disrepute? *early formal*
6. Why are parliamentary debates less influential than formerly? *gets associated with their throats*
7. What was the origin of Plato's Academy?
8. What may be done in the way of the better organizing of thought about legislative proposals? *waits stimulating effect.*

EXERCISES

146. In what ways is Science democratic? In what ways is it undemocratic?
147. Is Religion as much addressed to the expert as Science is? How does it compare in this respect with the Drama? With Art?
148. What are the good points and the bad points (if any) of the open forums spreading over the country?
149. What do you think of the public joint debate as a means of separating truth from error in non-technical questions?
150. Should cities be governed by commissions of experts, provided always that any commissioner is subject to recall at any time by the voters?
151. Would you want the state to be governed by such a commission? Reasons.

5. *More like wrangling than cooperation. observation & experiment & record necessary. full knowledge a prerequisite of profitable discussion. tendency to oratory.*
6. *Too many in assembly for profitable discussion. Tendency to oratory and partisan debate, not reason.*
7. *Plato invited followers to his walled garden to talk things over & appointments in a place in Athens.*
8. *Speakersmen for scientific & professional bodies & welfare groups, feed their ideas & proposals into the hands of the legislative committee & act - finding grants, bureau of information, research dept.*

Social structure - a certain group or institution which co-operate for a common group performing a certain function.

CHAPTER XXIII Fri.

THE DETERIORATION OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES

SOCIAL structures are made up of people, yet it would be rash to assume that they can have no tendencies of their own. The long-lived organization which survives staff after staff and gathers tradition as an old wall gathers ivy is virtually a *soul-mold* subduing the ordinary person who becomes identified with it. Structures then will not be plastic because living beings compose them, nor healthy because their members are sound, nor serviceable because these members are busy. From being badly constituted or from wrong relations to their environment, structures are subject to *diseases* which hinder them from realizing the purposes they were intended to serve.

PATRONAGE

Some one has to pick the members of a staff, and it is not easy to prevent that one from giving the desirable post to kinsman, friend, or highest bidder rather than to the best-qualified. Nepotism is an old abuse. In China the claims of family are felt so keenly that every kind of public organization is vitiated by it. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nepotism was a cancer in the Papal States. Each pope felt that he could trust only those utterly dependent on himself, consequently he raised his own relatives to wealth and office. Each papal clan hurried to gorge itself before the next pope should supplant it with his own hungry kinsfolk. To raise money for them, offices were sold and government bonds marketed at ruinous rates.

The disposal of places in return for money, political influence, or personal service makes a black chapter in the history of the state. In England over two centuries ago the policy of turning out all the lower officials to make room for party men was adopted by the very generation that originated party government. Under George III, who used it to get the better of the party system, patronage reached scandalous heights, but after the American Revolution the practice of selling offices or letting them go by favor declined, and patronage was dispensed with a more and more strict regard to party advantage. Between

List. of Medieval Church. Sinning, the disease of Nepotism. Purchase of offices. Merit system, civil service, & remedy

Lawrence Lane of our political institutions
Spoils system after the civil war.

1820 and 1870 England went over to the merit system, established open competition for 80,000 government positions, and laid the foundation for her wonderful efficiency in administration. Meanwhile the United States was moving in the other direction, and in the third quarter of the nineteenth century the sacrifice of fitness in public servants to favoritism and party work reached its climax. During forty years, however, great progress has been made in freeing public office from subordination to private or partisan interest.

Patronage has gone to such lengths in the public service because the service is sustained by taxes and because the general public are poor judges of what they get for their money. Nevertheless, the canker may attack any structure that offers places worth having. Business enterprises, universities, churches, charities, and voluntary associations are by no means immune to it. Occasionally nepotism shows itself very clearly in the salary roll of banks and life insurance companies. Fortunately the disease is a patent one, and publicity, proper checks on the power of appointment, and scientific methods of testing qualifications and measuring performance are efficacious remedies.

CORRUPTION

Outsiders who have an interest in deflecting the public servant from the path of honor plot how they may tempt him with the prospect of secret illicit advantage. Under the slang names of "graft" and "boodle" Americans have in recent years come to know the means by which their agents are seduced. For a bribe the alderman votes to present a valuable franchise to a traction company, the supervising architect of the new city hall passes work "not up to specifications," or the police ignore the existence of outlaw vice shops. The gift of railroad passes or the promise of political aid influences the vote of the legislator. Contracts for public work are jockeyed into the hands of a favored firm. The purchase of supplies on the public account opens the door to jobbery. Inspectors are induced to shut their eyes to evils which it is their duty to report.

"Graft" is by no means confined to public servants. Railroad officials withhold freight cars from coal companies along the line that neglect to present them with blocks of stock. Buyers for retail firms swing orders to the wholesaler most lavish with presents or entertainment. Officials take advantage of their inside knowledge to speculate in the securities of their company. A ring of officials taps the treasury of a railroad with bills for needless or fictitious repairs on

*Political life, particularly
municipal govts.*

cars. The directress of an old ladies' home gets admitted to the institution an aged family servant whom she ought to care for herself. In order to attract a gift of tainted money a church muffles its moral message. In order to hold in line a restive donor a college denatures its teaching in ethics or economics.

INDIFFERENTISM

Generally a social structure is less subject than an individual to the enlivening prick of competition. The people cannot turn from one health department or school system to another as they turn from one dealer or physician to another. The taxpayer's dissatisfaction with the service registers itself in a smaller appropriation rather than in a "shake-up" in the organization. An ancient and renowned university will be patronized even if inept, and a church without a rival, dominating an ignorant and submissive peasantry whose whole mental outlook it controls, e.g., the Roman Catholic Church in the tropical countries of South America, can with impunity sink into sloth. Whenever a structure is thus exempt from the natural penalty of poor service, the blight of *indifferentism* is likely to fall upon it.

It is commonly assumed that a structure is safe from this dry rot if it is under a vigorous administrator who will weed out the lazy and promote the zealous. This indeed is just what a man does in order to get good service from his own employees. But the bureau chief does not own the bureau and hence cannot be trusted to deal always with his subordinates according to their merits. In order to guard against inferior posts being treated as patronage the incumbent is made so secure in his tenure that an energetic chief cannot promptly rid himself of languid underlings who are clever enough to avoid downright provable incompetency.

Indifference is so quickly felt and resented that a structure serving the general public directly will not be allowed to suffer long from this disease. A service like the police, fire-fighting, street-cleaning, the weather bureau, the post-office, or the school cannot go far wrong without calling forth protests from influential persons. Indifferentism in a university is punished by loss of students, in church by loss of members, in a hospital by loss of patients. When, however, the sufferers from slackness are *ignorant or lowly people*—orphans, the ailing poor, borrowers, convicts, prostitutes, natives, negroes, or immigrants—the disease is not so promptly checked. So, also, when the structure is not in contact with the general public—a navy yard, an arsenal, a for-

Usually due to too little stimulus dealing with formal things.

*Cause - formulate background - the
human interest*

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estry bureau, or a customs service—the remedy must come from above.

Inspiring leadership may cure indifferentism. The tabulator yawning over his adding machine, the gymnasium instructor sweating over his awkward squad, may loathe his task because he fails to see its worthwhileness. Under a leader who can fire him with a vision of the meaning of it all he may thrill with love of his work. It is said that the thousands of workers at Panama went at their daily task with a right good will because they felt it as part of a stupendous, everlasting achievement—the Canal. Sometimes an effete church, university, or religious order has been roused from its torpor by the captaincy of a genius who radiates inspiration and fires cold routinary souls with a vision of the greatness of their opportunity.

FORMALISM

It is the way of the dull person to content himself with going through the motions of rendering service without noticing whether the benefits intended are indeed realized. Either because formerly success attended them, or because they *look as if* they can produce the desired effect, he assumes that certain forms are efficacious and never thinks of testing their actual results. For example, a building ordinance is adopted by a city and an inspector is appointed to see that it is obeyed. At first he issues building permits on the basis of architect's plans submitted and later inspects the building to see whether the plans have been carried out as approved. But as the city grows he has less and less time for inspection, until at last he sits all day in his office issuing building permits on the strength of plans which builders later change to suit themselves. • Without realizing it he has become a mere formalist.

Courts of justice are very subject to this disease, because one litigant or the other has an interest in urging technicalities. Among their formalisms are: record worship; the insistence on trying records rather than trying cases; the throwing of cases out of court because brought in, or taken to, the wrong court or the wrong venue instead of transferring them to the right one and saving all prior proceedings; and inflicting "the monstrous penalty of a new trial" when the jury appear to have been influenced by improper argument by counsel or by confusing expert evidence, when the error might have been corrected very simply in an oral charge to the jury by the judge.

Institutions for dependent children are very subject to formalism, because the victims make no outcry and no one of influence takes a strong interest in the fate of the individual child. It is incredible but

true that good people pleased at going through the motions of saving babies will keep on with a foundling asylum which loses 97 per cent. of its infants. A large orphanage is just the sort of thing a formalist loves. The money laid out makes a brave show, the bigness of the charity is obvious, and the children, made spick and span, can be collected in one place to feast the eyes of donors and visitors. It is overlooked that children cannot be raised well on the wholesale plan, that the institution-child lags far behind other children in development, that the best parts of its nature atrophy from disuse, that all through life it will never stand for much nor alone, and that it would be infinitely better off if placed in a normal family.

The formalist loves visible material relief of destitution—baskets of food and bales of clothing distributed to dingy women in shawls—and he never thinks of visiting the tenements to see how the weekly dole at the poor-office affects the habits and morals of the poor. He sneers at charitable societies which dispense few groceries but waste their income in paying salaries to “a lot of trained workers who do absolutely nothing for the poor”—save to hunt a job for the out-of-work, overhaul the plumbing which has produced disease, arrange for the removal of the ailing family to a better neighborhood, persuade the landlord to wait for the rent, stand off the holder of the chattel mortgage, teach the mother to cook or earn, put the boy to a trade, or entice the children to the social settlement where they will get aspirations instead of alms!

But the paradise of the formalist is the school, because it works with the mind, and the mind is something we know little about. Children are set to work upon spelling-books full of strange words instead of studying the few hundred words which they are likely to misspell. They are drilled in grammar instead of being trained in the correct use of their mother-tongue. They agonize over arithmetic operations which no one uses in real life. They pore over books instead of handling what the books tell about or doing what the books describe. They are made to labor over stuff utterly without use or interest—Latin prosody, for example—in order to “strengthen their mental faculties,” although experiments show that facility gained in doing one thing is not transferred to the doing of other things.

OBSOLESCENCE

History is eloquent as to the folly of regulating the present according to the will of the past. Owing to changes unforeseen by the tes-

out of date. old.

Changes should come slowly
& conservatively better for society.

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tator, thousands of the twenty-eight thousand perpetual charities brought to light by the great survey instituted in England a century ago had become useless or even harmful. Funds had been left to provide forever for superannuated wool carders; for teaching children to card, spin, and knit; for apprenticing the children of poor Protestant soldiers in Cork, a city in which for a long time there had been no Protestant soldiers; for conducting services in the French tongue in the Walloon chapel of Canterbury Cathedral, although the congregation had known no French for a hundred years; for disseminating the doctrines of a sect that had died long since; for repairing causeways and bridges in a wet district which had been drained to the point of no longer needing causeways and bridges; for the ransom of Christians held captive by the Barbary corsairs; for the relief of those imprisoned for debt; for leper hospitals; for doles to needy persons who will stultify themselves by repeating some prescribed religious formula; for schools with fixed courses of instruction reflecting the educational ideas of the Elizabethan period. What can be more foolish than thus to chain a perpetual endowment to the terms of a founder's will?

Various causes hinder a social structure from adapting itself to the changing situation about it. One is the force of habit. This being strongest in the aged will be felt most when the structure is controlled by those who have grown old in it. If it is in a rut it needs a "shake-up" and an outsider must be put in charge.

An organization composed of a number of parts resists needed changes in its functions or methods because of the extra trouble they involve. After the parts have come to work together smoothly an alteration in a single part to adapt it to an outside situation may necessitate a whole series of adjustments between this part and all the others. The worry and friction until the machinery is again in good running order accounts for the stiffness of all intricate human organization. The more complex a structure the greater the pressure needed to keep it near its point of greatest usefulness.

It requires much more intellectual effort or ability to redirect the work of a school system, a bureau, or a charity than to continue on established lines. To go on doing the same thing in the same way is the line of least resistance. Often, indeed, mediocre minds are utterly incapable of originating a better adaptation of the structure to its opportunity, so that, unless able men are put in charge and given a free hand, the adaptation will not take place.

Finally an old, imposing social structure comes to have an atmos-

Formalism dangerous to our present system because of credit system.

phere which soaks into its personnel. One's subconsciousness becomes saturated with suggestions of the excellence of everything "we" do and the way "we" do it; of the greatness of the "institution" or "service" and its right to one's loyalty; of the bothersomeness of the pupils, orphans, patients, citizens, or enlisted men the organization serves and their ungratefulness for what "we" do for them; and of the ignorance, stupidity, and malice of the outsiders, who actually criticize "us" and want to change "our" ways. Steeped in this atmosphere, the progressive stands like a rock against reform in *his* organization; the man who pounces like a hawk on inefficiency anywhere else has no eyes for the red tape and circumlocution in his office; and the man with a keen sense of the absurd feels no twinge as he stores the gift toys to the orphan asylum in the loft, "where they won't get broken," or provides for a furnace in the plans of a government building in the cane belt!

ABSOLUTISM no democracy develops following tendency.
Absolutism is a disease of social structures absolved from obedience to the judgment and wishes of their time. No doubt the instrument devised for carrying on some great and beneficent work of public benefit ought to be withdrawn from the meddling of later generations in case to-morrow will be more stupid than to-day and *will not know it*. But if to-morrow bids fair to be as wise as to-day or, if not, will realize the fact, nothing is gained by putting what we devise to-day beyond the reach of to-morrow's judgment.

The living wills to which every social structure should be made obedient are of *such as know and care most about its problem*. The policy of an endowed charity hospital, for example, ought to reflect the judgment not only of the dead founder, but also of the living who best understand and are concerned about the relief of the ailing poor. Yet ever since the church lost control of charities the favorite form of government for a foundation has been the board of trustees which fills vacancies in its membership, i.e., the coöptative or self-constituted board.

But the self-constituted board easily gets out of step with its generation. Any special tendency which may develop in it is likely to become intensified and fixed. The element which happens to be in the majority when a vacancy is to be filled picks a man of its way of thinking. He in turn helps to get in others of the same kidney, *so that a passing bias becomes chronic*. Just as the shifting of portions of the

Lived + absolute method of control preventing change.

*is always close if we try to side-
step around responsibility.*

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cargo in a listing ship hinders her righting herself and increases the list, so a mistaken temporary leaning in a board may be made lasting. It would be hard to invent a system surer to bring the institution under a clique and set it at odds with intellectual advance, moral progress, or social development. What chiefly has prevented our private foundations from becoming ossified has been the necessity of wooing givers. Then, too, the rivalry of *public* hospitals, charities, and universities has often obliged the *private* foundations to be more progressive than they wished to be. It needs but little acquaintance with the tendencies in well-endowed and therefore financially independent institutions of learning to convince one that but for the state universities—which are obliged to make their work a broad social service—they would have persisted in excluding women, requiring the classics, stressing the “culture” or enjoyment studies dear to the leisure class, and equipping youth for “success” rather than for usefulness.

The public is becoming enlightened enough to resent the type of government provided for the great foundations of recent years. Such oligarchic control is the less excusable now that we know of a better way of choosing trustees. The only security that a public-service institution shall constantly reflect in its ideals and policies the best thought of its time is to found it on the intellectual-moral apexes in society. Thus interest in the advancement of natural science apexes chiefly in universities, the government scientific bureaus, and the national scientific associations. Here, then, are given the groups that should share in selecting the trustees of a scientific-research institute. Enlightened concern about public health comes to a head in public-health associations, anti-tuberculosis associations, medical societies and colleges, and like groups. Where are better sources of judgment as to who should have a hand in governing a medical-research foundation? There is little intelligent solicitude for the poor that does not express itself in charitable societies, charity-organization societies, and a host of other philanthropic groups. Generally those included in such groups work with a deep and unselfish interest and are ahead of, rather than behind, their time. If boards in charge of endowed orphanages, rescue homes, and free hospitals filled vacancies from names submitted in turn by these groups, it would be impossible for the management to continue long at odds with the best contemporary knowledge and ideals. No doubt the board itself should fill every third or fourth vacancy in its membership in order that unorganized or minor interests should not go unrepresented.

Life is promoted by initiative

Can you formalize a thing you
pervert it.

PERVERSION

Founders cherish the pathetic delusion that their college, charity, or religious house may be kept to the charted course; that what they launch with enthusiasm will look sunward through all time. This vain hope inspires the endeavors of the friends of a beneficent organization so to fortify it by means of irrevocable charter, autonomy, and gifts in perpetuity that no meddling hand may ever interfere with its blessed work.

But alas, no human foresight can save from degeneration a structure that has high aims and puts a strain on ordinary human nature. Despite your checks and safeguards, in a few generations perhaps it will have become the exact opposite of what was intended. Your beacon is now a will-o'-the-wisp, your healing spring an infected pool. There is indeed no way to keep it true to its purpose *save to make it responsive to those in each generation who are spiritual brothers of the founder.*

In the higher realm nothing perverts like quick success. A furore floods a movement with enthusiasts incapable of rising to the plane of the founders. The warmer the reception of a new art, the sooner it will be discredited by imitators and quacks. The higher a young religious order flames up, the sooner its pure fire dies in the rush of the unspiritual. With rapid expansion the membership grades down, and after the pioneers and their disciples are gone the character of the organization changes. Thus three centuries after St. Francis his "Little Brothers" were "arrogant mendicants, often of loose morals, begging with forged testimonials, haunting the palaces of the rich, forcing themselves into families, selling the Franciscan habit to wealthy dying sinners as a funeral cloak to cover many sins."

As a body expands, the man of organizing ability is called to the helm rather than the inspirer and prophet. A university which has grown rapidly owing to the rare learning and zeal of its teachers may, a generation later, come under the control of men skilful in organizing the teaching force and handling large classes. Impatient at having to spend so much of their time on administration, the real scholars, bit by bit, relinquish their authority to organizers, and the spirit of the institution changes. In this way Frate Elias, skilful organizer and friend of the Pope, but not in the least a saint, succeeded St. Francis at the head of the Franciscan Order. After Constantine the bishop

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of the church becomes less apostolic, while the typical Methodist bishop of to-day is scarcely a spiritual son of John Wesley.

With the organizer comes less faith in *spontaneity* and more stress on *form* as embodying the founder's ideal. The life of the monastery is directed less by religious impulse and more by rules, the work of the research institute less by fruitful ideas and more by routine. Everything runs "as if by clockwork," only the one does not produce great characters, nor the other great discoveries. While St. Francis lived the stern rule of absolute poverty was applied with "the genial concessions and exceptions he knew how to make," whereas half a century later, under St. Bonaventura, his monks had to follow a formal and lifeless discipline. To carry flowers or a staff, to twirl the end of one's girdle cord, to sit with crossed legs, to laugh, to sing aloud, were all indecorous.

As a body gains wealth and popularity its members will tolerate a concentration of authority which would wreck a young society. Masterful organizers who love power for its own sake magnify their office. In a religious organization control becomes established in the clerical order. St. Francis was a mere layman, but the first priest to become head of his order instituted that laymen should no longer be elected as officers. In England by the middle of the sixteenth century the charitable foundations were regularly in the hands of monks and priests. It took a royal edict to wrest the direction of hospitals from clergy and nobles and lodge their management in the hands of "bourgeois, shopkeepers, and laborers." Early in the same century the right of choosing officers in the English craft guilds was restricted to their liveried members, and later, control passed from them to a still more select body, the Court of Assistants.

Thus the body becomes machine rather than organism. Without voice the rank and file lose the genial *we*-feeling that once warmed their hearts. They stick to the organization for the benefits it offers, but their loyalty is less pure than when it was truly theirs. Moreover, just as control slips away from them to a higher class, so may the benefits leave them. The Roman baths were originally intended for the poor, but under the later Empire they were the exclusive privilege of the wealthy and one of their most luxurious forms of enjoyment. The thirty-three endowed grammar schools of London were all metamorphosed to teach the children of the higher class. Harrow, one of the most expensive of English schools, was founded by a bricklayer

for the free education of the ranks in which he had been born. Male trustees twist foundations left for the sexes equally to the service of the male sex. For instance, the endowments of Christ's Hospital given for the most destitute classes and "for girls as much as for boys" were found in 1865 to be educating 1,100 boys and only 25 girls, nearly all from the middle classes.

Finally the institution becomes an end in itself. The university exists for the benefit of its dons. The state prison is conducted as a provider of cheap labor for the prison contractor. A local charity becomes the means of enhancing the social prestige of the ladies back of it. The courts of chancery instituted for the protection of orphans whose money was liable to misappropriation by unscrupulous relatives had become by Dickens' time a machine which sucked up all their money in interminable lawsuits.

Since the independent structure is never safe from perversion, organized society should beware of bestowing upon it favors and privileges. An unmodifiable charter should never be granted it. Buildings actually used for public worship, education, or relief may be left tax free, but the exemption should not extend to other property of a private corporation. The one-sided partnership, so common in some of our states, whereby the public furnishes an annual subsidy to be expended at the discretion of the private charity, has shown the ugliest tendencies and should cease. Public funds should never be given to an educational institution not under public control. No legitimate service should be withheld by the state in order to leave the field clear for the private agency. The public asylum, school, university, library, or research institute should be set up in order to correct and spur the private institute. The self-constituting governing board should be looked upon with suspicion, and the state's right of visitation, report, supervision, and revision should not be allowed to lapse through disuse.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Contrast the "merit" system and the "spoils" system.
2. How has corruption on the part of agents or officers of an organization been made difficult?
3. Who are likely to be the chief sufferers from indifferentism?
4. How may it be cured?
5. What is formalism?
6. Why is the school so subject to the disease of formalism?
7. Define and illustrate obsolescence.
8. What is the alternative to the self-constituted governing board?
9. Set forth the stages of decay of an institution.

EXERCISES

152. How did Roosevelt seek to overcome the indifferentism in the public services he was connected with?
153. How would you go about to build up morale in a disgruntled group of public servants, say, postal clerks?
154. What instances of formalism can you cite from your school experience?
155. What instances of formalism (*not* emphasis on devotional forms) have you observed in connection with religion and churches?
156. Give the pros and cons of rich men endowing newspapers just as they have endowed colleges.
157. Would it be a good thing for the International Y. M. C. A. if rich men gave it a permanent endowment for its work?
158. Does "perversion" come from certain *diseases* (which are avoidable), or from *old age* (which is unavoidable)?

Formal disputation = in
disrepute because not worthy
subjects discussed at first.

9

CLASS AND CASTE

CHAPTER

- XXIV THE RISE OF GROSS INEQUALITIES
- XXV GRADATION
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- XXVII EQUALIZATION

CHAPTER XXIV

THE RISE OF GROSS INEQUALITIES

CONQUEST is not the only source of social layers ; there are layers which form in consequence of certain processes. Stratification is really a social disease which checks the natural sifting of human beings, clogs the rise of the bright and the descent of the dull, discourages the masses, arrests the flow of sympathy and, if not remedied, ends in the semi-paralysis, perhaps the break-up, of the group.

Examples of *stratified* society are ancient Babylonia, the later Roman Empire, France under the Old Régime, Japan before the going over to the new order in 1867, Russia before the late Revolution. The genesis of such a formation presents a problem, for it seems to outrage human nature. Caste rests upon a theory of heredity which is absurd. Privilege is an affront to the natural sense of justice. That the idle should lord it over the diligent smacks of topsy-turvy land. The stigma on work with the hands flouts the instinct of workmanship. A social order so preposterous needs, therefore, to be accounted for.

All about us we see men rising or sinking on account of their *personal* qualities, but this does not result in distinct social layers. Social strata there will not be unless there is some kind of *inheritance*—of occupation, of prestige, of office, of authority, of property on the one hand; of lowly calling, of unfreedom, and of disability on the other.

An early basis for hereditary superiority was kinship with the divinity. When the intermingling of men of different kindreds had broken down the tribal system and substituted the tie of a common worship for the tie of blood, not all the members of the community could be thought of as children of its god. But since such gods were, in origin, the deities of certain old families, the members of these families might plume themselves on their descent from the gods and make such a pedigree a basis for aristocratic pretensions. Thus, royal and noble houses long continued to trace their stem back to a divine forefather.

But by far the commonest basis of aristocracy is wealth. A great fortune not only exempts a family from work and enables it to bedazzle with a splendid style of living, but through nearly all history it has com-

manded ennoblement. Birth, no doubt, explains the ranking of *individuals*, but the root cause of the rank differences among *families* has been wealth—wealth, moreover, *in a large block*, and therefore not gained in ordinary ways. The ups and downs of fortune which happen all about us in consequence of individual differences in ability, enterprise, character, or diligence shed little light on the origins of fixed classes. The fortunes which give rise to hereditary social distinctions are not mere by-products of the economic virtues but largely the offspring of crime, fraud, corruption, favoritism, or privilege.

Priority is one basis of acquisitive advantage. In the medieval towns which of the fugitive serfs should be master and which servant chiefly depended on which ran away the earlier. The “old burghers” drew a line against the late-comers. They ran the gilds, ruled the town, monopolized trade, and reserved for themselves the benefits from the communal lands. The city thus became divided into “burghers” and “inhabitants.”

In Australia adventurous sheepmen early pushed on into the public domain in advance of the government surveys, and “squatted” with their flocks on vast areas from which their shepherds excluded all settlers. Rich districts lay untilled in the hands of pastoralists, who soon became wealthy and powerful men. When the state later attempted to resume its rights over these tracts the “wool kings” were too strong to be dispossessed, and the government had to content itself with exacting a small rent upon the area occupied.

GRANTS OF LAND AS FOUNDATION OF A LEISURE CLASS

Historically landed estates have been the economic basis of nobility. Hence *grants of land* play a leading rôle in social destiny. When the elders of Israel importuned Samuel for a king, the aged prophet warned them: “He will take your fields and your vineyards and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants.”

Early Egyptian kings bestowed on distinguished military officers portions of the crown domains. The absorption of the Roman public lands by senators and other insiders made them enormously rich and started the senatorial aristocracy on its career of six centuries. William the Conqueror distributed his newly won kingdom into about sixty thousand parcels of nearly equal value from each of which was due a “knight’s service on horseback.” As the Castilians drove back the Moors in Spain the land thus won was divided into huge fiefs and given to magnates on condition of their rendering military service. As the

English in Ireland made themselves masters of the country they divided it into "seignories" of from 4,000 to 12,000 acres and gave them to the sons of "gentlemen."

It is the New World, however, that affords the best view of the manufacture of social superiors by grants of land. Throughout Spanish America the agricultural natives were divided among the conquerors, and as the growth of a colony brought more land within reach it was always passed out in large tracts to those within the governing circle, or their friends. The "Laws of the Indies" prescribed that lands should be apportioned according to one's station, the gentleman's portion being at least five times the peasant's. The fact is that not one rood of good soil went straight to the cultivator. To-day all down the west coast of South America there exists nowhere a population of independent small farmers.

Since the separation from Spain, the public lands of the Spanish American republics have been alienated in the old way to capitalists, speculators, and "insiders." Mexico, up to the revolution, was owned in a few thousand holdings, most of them very large, and one of them embracing eight million acres, or as much as Connecticut and New Jersey combined. In Argentina there are holdings stretching for hundreds of square miles, and ranches which a train takes the best part of a day to cross. The pampa cleared of Indians by the expedition of 1879 was promptly alienated at a price of three cents an acre, after great quantities had been presented to the officers who took part in the expedition. Half a century ago the government allowed one man to acquire, at an average price of three and one-half cents an acre, *a hundred square leagues* of land which, after having made some scores of millionaires, is now worth *five hundred times* the purchase price. Until lately the smallest unit of public land ever considered by the government was the square league, and the only question was how many such leagues the grantee should obtain.

In Australasia the alienation of public lands went forward in such a fashion that, about the end of the last century, in New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand, 105,500 persons owned thirty thousand square miles, in lots of less than a thousand acres, whereas 1,255 persons owned fifty-five thousand square miles in holdings of ten thousand acres and above.

In colonial Virginia manorial families got their start in huge land grants obtained by favor or bribery. Several generations of wealth and pride on the one hand, and of dependence and humility on the other,

might hinge on a secret agreement among the members of the provincial council to carve great estates for one another out of the public lands temporarily in their custody.

2 Even worse was the land grabbing in colonial New York. An Amsterdam merchant, Van Rensselaer, acquired from the Indians for a few "duffels, axes, knives, and wampum" an estate of seven hundred thousand acres, which, entailed to the eldest son for over two hundred years, gave a single family an utterly factitious political and social importance. After New Netherlands became New York, the creation of great landed proprietors with feudal rights over the people on their estates was facilitated by a royal governor, Fletcher, who in the closing years of the seventeenth century gave princely grants in return for bribes. A Bayard received twelve hundred square miles; a Smith, a block fifty miles long; a Beekman, one estate sixteen miles long and another twenty miles by eight miles; a Schuyler was given land extending for fifty miles, while a Livingston became lord of a manor of four hundred square miles. With some of the patents went the hereditary right to a seat in the legislature. Thus by trickery certain scheming and grasping men were lifted to be founders of aristocratic families, society was forced into the path of patronage and dependence, and the seeds were planted for a hundred years and more of privilege, bitterness, and strife.

3 The disposition of the public domain of the United States reveals an incessant struggle between the intentions of the people and the efforts of the greedy. In spite of the Homestead law of 1862 which, with the preëmption acts, brought about the best distribution of virgin land that has been achieved in the New World, and which, in a single generation, undoubtedly contributed more to human welfare than any law in history, there has been a serious engrossment of natural wealth. In 1909 the pending cases of alleged fraud and illegality in the acquisition of public lands involved a value of one hundred and fourteen millions of dollars. Seven thousand square miles of land were granted to canal companies. A quarter of a million square miles went to railroad companies. Out of a hundred thousand square miles taken up under the Swamp Land acts vast areas were of the richest agricultural land, acquired by means of perjury, fraud, and corruption. In 1884 thirty-two cases of illegal fencing reported by the land office involved the use of seven thousand square miles of the public domain. In 1903 a land-office report estimated that in the preceding twenty-five years more than sixty million

dollars' worth of timber had been stolen from the public lands and forests.

In 1885 an honest and fearless commissioner of public lands declared that he found himself "confronted with overwhelming evidence that the public domain was made the prey of unscrupulous speculation and the worst forms of land monopoly." Twenty years later the Public Land Commission reported that "perhaps in general a larger proportion of the public land is passing into the hands of speculators and corporations than into those of actual settlers." "Inquiries made as to how a number of estates, selected haphazard, were acquired," showed that "almost without exception collusion or evasion of the letter and spirit of the land laws was involved."

It is, of course, impossible to measure how much such original maldistribution of the public domain has contributed to plutocracy, but no one doubts that it has been a great cause of this sinister phenomenon.

THE STATE AS CREATOR OF INEQUALITY

Whether the state will be source or curb of hereditary social differences depends altogether on who controls the state. The class state will be a fountain of inequalities or, at least, their mainstay. As the state comes under people-control, it will frown on extreme inequalities and will hedge the acquisitive struggle with rules designed to make it fairer.

The state is, in its earliest form, a fighting organization, and at its first appearance it creates a fresh and sharp differentiation. The passage of the Israelites from the régime of judges to that of kings brought into existence a nobility which soon usurped the authority of the elders. The relatives of the king and his chief war captains became the great men of the realm, so that the old assembly of the elders of the tribes fell into disuse.

Under the Roman Empire the state came to play a great part in creating inequalities. From Diocletian on, the rankings of the servants of the state fixed degrees of social distinction. Says Bury:

In the time of Constantine only those who had held the highest official rank, consuls, proconsuls, or prefects, were members of the senate. The new forms of court ceremony, which were instituted by Aurelian and Diocletian and elaborated by their successors, gave to such personages precedence over lesser dignitaries, and they were distinguished by the title of *clarissimi*, "most renowned." Social rank depended on precedence at court, and precedence at court depended on official position. Thus, under

Constantine and his immediate successors, *clarissimi* and senators denoted the same class of persons, though regarded under different aspects. Officers of lower rank were grouped into two classes, the *perfectissimi* and *egregii*, who were not members of the senate. These included the governors of dioceses and provinces, dukes, *correctores*, and others.

In the Teutonic war bands which more and more filled the foreground as the Empire lost its grip, the thing that counted was nearness to the prince. To be "friend" or client of the headman became a title of honor in address and inscription. The *comes* or "companion" became ancestor of all "counts" and the *comites*, the first rank of nobles.

In all kingdoms founded by such war bands, the service of the king was the source of all distinction. In France in the sixth century the top class was the senators, noble by ancestry and rich by hereditary wealth. A century later, under the Frankish kings, the nobles were simply the high royal functionaries, the big men of the palace. They all got rich, to be sure, but their wealth was the by-product of the high offices into which they had been lifted by the royal will.

The feudal system was a mode of organizing military power in a country, and for a long time the enjoyment of a fief carried with it the obligation to maintain armed forces and render military service. But the fiefs, at first granted for life, became hereditary and later all the feudal dues were abolished. National defense came to be provided for on an entirely different plan, and the lordly estates originally granted for the maintenance of a vital public service became private property, pure and simple.

Since Europe beheld a king under the guillotine monarchs have been chary in using the public wealth to enrich their favorites. But one needs only to go back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to find not only titles and honors, but also crown lands, confiscated estates, money grants, monopolies, lucrative offices, sinecures, and hereditary pensions lavishly bestowed by kings upon their servants, supporters, and favorites. Up to the epoch when great fortunes began to be made in trade and manufacture, the sovereign had immense power in determining who should constitute the leisure class.

LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS AS PROPS OF THE SOCIAL HIERARCHY

It is hardly possible to keep a nobility on a lofty plane without resort to primogeniture and entail. When landed property is divided equally among the children, the prolific family soon loses its splendor and prestige. If the title passes to all the sons, it loses its scarcity

value. Where, as in Germany, all the sons of a baron are barons, the title becomes insignificant. Italian counts and Portuguese marquises impress only those who do not realize how numerous they are.

At the lower end of the social scale are often the unfree, who are in this condition because the law gives a far-reaching effect to the act of some ancestor. The thickest stratum of unfree is found when the law allows a debtor to pawn himself for a loan, when the starving man can legally contract himself into servitude, when the parent can sell his child, and when slavery is a hereditary condition. Had we such laws as have for centuries endured among some Christian peoples there is no shadow of doubt that every period of industrial depression and unemployment would precipitate tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens into unfreedom. Apologists for the existing order would then insist that their hard lot was the "natural" recompense of inefficiency, just as such apologists now insist that the monstrous fortunes among us are the "natural" recompense of superior ability!

In the American colonies, besides the negro slaves there were great numbers of white bond servants, some war prisoners, some convicts. Their social status is thus described by McMaster:

None could marry without consent of the master or mistress, under penalty of an addition of one year's service to the time set forth in the indenture. They were worked hard, were dressed in the cast-off clothes of their owners, and might be flogged as often as the master or mistress thought necessary. If they ran away, at least two days might be added to their time of service for each day they were absent. Father, mother, and children could be sold to different buyers. Such remnants of cargoes as could not find purchasers within the time specified were bought in lots of fifty or more by a class of speculators known as "soul-drivers" who drove them through the country like so many cattle and sold them for what they would bring.

Some were "redemptioners," or immigrants too poor to pay their passage, who, on their arrival in America, sold themselves to him who for the shortest term of service—usually five years—would reimburse the captain of the ship for the cost of their passage. Who can doubt that tens of thousands would even now make their way to America on such terms if such contracts were enforceable under American law?

The advantage from greater wealth grows in the degree that the state fails to furnish equal protection and justice. In the imperial domains of the later Roman Empire the members of the senatorial aristocracy got out of hand and encroached upon the small neighboring

landowners. Since the lawsuits were decided by judges drawn from this class, the man whose land had been seized by a noble had no certain redress. Hence, the commoners fell into the practice of seeking from the strong that protection which the law should have afforded them. Each "commended" himself to some lord, and the *patron* relation spread through society. The petty landowners became tenants-at-will upon their ancestral acres, and over them the nobles wielded sovereign powers usurped from the state.

Before the advent of genuine governmental regulation our great railroad companies, by giving or withholding special rates, rebates, and facilities, destroyed or built up industries, rewarded or punished cities and states, made or ruined business men, and nursed monopolies like the oil trust and the anthracite coal trust. The failure of the state to exact equal treatment for shippers led to the shipper (as it were) "commending" himself to the railroad company. In the same way nothing but the long struggle of the trade unions has spared the laborers in some industries, e.g., the coal-mining industry of Colorado, from the necessity of virtually renouncing all appeal to the laws supposed to protect them and "commending" themselves to the conscience and humanity of their employers.

STATIC TIMES COMPARED WITH DYNAMIC TIMES

It is in changeful times or in changeful fields that new peaks or even plateaus are upheaved in society. While conditions continue static, the struggle for wealth, power, or prestige alters only slowly the social landscape. From one generation to the next its features remain much the same. Generally the high can stay up, while the low must stay down. Wealth, income, social power, sometimes even place and office, pass from father to son, even if brains do not. Individual differences in ability and character bring about some interchanges between the social strata, but not many. The family line establishes itself whenever it can and, in the absence of new fields of opportunity, the lot of a man depends much on his inheriting or failing to inherit such advantages as wealth, place, connections, or education.

On the other hand, rapid growth, headlong economic progress, the cropping up of chances in unexpected places, permit the sudden rise of new men. The discovery of the New World no doubt caused in the end more displacement of social power than any happening in history. But on a smaller scale we see the same thing at our elbow. The "boom" of a big city means great profits to some from rising land values. A new

region is a fascinating gamble, since the discovery of rare minerals or an outlet for ore, coal, or lumber, owing to the advent of a new railroad or the clearance of a waterway, is sure to lift some prospectors or settlers into Millionaires' Row. The eager exploitation of the natural wealth of Colorado and California made great changes in American social registers.

But new fields, like the electrical and the automobile industries, offer opportunities as rich as do cornucopia provinces like British Columbia or São Paulo. Inventions, such as the telephone, the bicycle, the trolley car, and the motion film, hatch a brood of new fortunes. The introduction into a region of some new crop—sugar beets, hops, or citrus fruits—throws chances in the way of the foresighted and enterprising, while some bright men mount into the empyrean on the wings of a clever idea, such as founding a "ten-cent" magazine, teaching by correspondence, popularizing health foods, or pushing a method of curing stammering or pursuing physical culture at home. War, like a continental upheaval, may alter most of the wealth courses, ruining old families while new Croesuses are made through munitions, shipping, army contracts, and the floating of war loans.

When army promotion goes by seniority, how slow is the rise of the talented subaltern; whereas war gives a "leg up" to a Clive, a Bonaparte, a Skobeloff, a Kitchener, or a Pershing! During a dull era in politics reëlection is the rule, office shows a fondness for certain families and regular political dynasties appear; but an upheaval by disillusioned farmers or workingmen is likely to bring into public life demagogues and constructive reformers who otherwise would never have been heard of.

Scientific eminence cannot, of course, be entailed like a fortune. There are times, however, in which the prestige of the discoverer is, at least, a life estate, whereas in epochs of great intellectual fermentation laurels are constantly redistributed. In our time, thanks to the discovery of radio-activity, the germ origin of disease, immunity, the mutation of species, the Mendelian law of inheritance, mental suggestibility, and psycho-analysis, a host of eager investigators are sharing in a glory which ordinarily would be monopolized by the retired explorers of older fields.

SECONDARY DIFFERENTIATION

Great differences in social status presently give rise to contrasts in character which serve to accentuate and justify these differences. Nor-

mally, the personal ideal that grows up within a hereditary upper class is to be proud, free-handed, and high-spirited. Born to wealth and power, its members not infrequently manifest an independence of character, a frankness of speech, a simplicity of manner, and a dignity of bearing which are interpreted as natural traits of the *aristoi* or best. Hence, the myth that the nobility had its origin in the deliberate promotion of the best.

On the other hand, the masses are warped out of their true line of character growth. They accept the master-idea of the disgracefulness of work; yet for them there is no other lot. Their enforced economies and frugality of expenditure are taken as proofs of a want of natural dignity. So far as they lack adequate legal protection they find themselves under the necessity of combating force with deceit. In case the masses are mostly disinherited, they lose the property sense and are despised for their petty thievery. Thus, when concentration of wealth and power in the upper class is marked, the resulting want of manliness and truthfulness in the common people is held to reveal a natural defect, and inferiority of social status is justified as being the inevitable recompense for inherited weakness of character.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show how priority may confer acquisitive advantage.
2. What was the foundation of the aristocracy in colonial New York?
3. By what means has our public domain been made to contribute to the enrichment of the few?
4. Does the state raise up or smooth down inequalities?
5. Would we have redemptioner immigrants if our laws enforced contracts binding one's self out? *yes.*
6. How did the practice of commendation arise?
7. Compare static times with dynamic times as regards inequalities.
8. Set forth the secondary differentiation which arises out of hereditary inequality of social status.

EXERCISES

159. What is the issue between conservationists and exploiters in respect to water power?
160. Oppression of workers by great employers may be prevented (a) by strong unions, (b) by laws and state regulation, (c) by the development of conscience and sense of responsibility in the employers. Compare the value of these.
161. Why is the prevalent opinion in the corps of army officers, taken as a whole, pro-war?
162. Evaluate the President's suggestion that in the next war business men be held down to the "normal" rate of profit.

163. Show that a highly dynamic time like ours is unfavorable to the spread of socialistic doctrines.
164. Should high school texts in American history include an authentic account of the crimes, frauds, corruptions, and treacheries which have so much contributed to produce the present astounding concentration of wealth in the United States?
165. Are there grounds for thinking that most people may be happier in a stratified society than in a fluid competitive society?

CHAPTER XXV

GRADATION

SOcial grades exist not so much because some *assume* superiority as because others *acknowledge* such superiority. *Plebeians* may jeer at the pretensions of *patricians*, but their eagerness to break into patrician circles betrays their secret sense of inferiority. Social distinctions are as real to the lower grades as to the higher.

AGE AS BASIS OF SOCIAL GRADATION

Among the Eskimos, the Bushmen, the Australians, the Fuegians, the Veddahs, the Dyaks, the Caribs, and many other nature peoples, there is marked deference to the aged. Among the Homeric Greeks experience was the only education and age alone gave that. The counselors of the king were called *gerontes* or elders, although in war time few of them would be old. The basing of distinction on age is reasonable enough in early times when there are no short cuts to wisdom *via* the record of other men's experience in books. Generally the older man has seen more and has heard more of other men's experiences.

OCCUPATION AS BASIS OF SOCIAL GRADATION

In the barbarian stage of culture, people are graded chiefly according to the dignity of their employments. The leading honorific employment is *fighting*, which is a better test of prowess than work and is graced by an element of exploit. The warrior class regularly lords it over the working class, which includes, of course, all the women. The taproot of the European feudal nobility was not landholding, but military exploit. One did not lead fighting men because he held a fief; he held a fief because he led fighting men. As the old saw put it, "Who would be a gentleman let him storm a town." Feudalism has been dead a third of a millennium but its value standards still influence a third of the human race.

Government has always been an honorific occupation. Generally, those who have to do with government regard themselves as ruling rather than as serving. They enjoy prestige because they are able not

only to shun all pursuits tainted with vulgar usefulness, but obviously and irresistibly to impose their wills upon other men. The service of the state has been so honorable that often even its petty officials are looked up to by private persons much superior to them in real importance. The military-dynastic prestige of states like Prussia and Japan exalts even minor civil officials above leading merchants and professional men.

The *professional offering of sacrifice and prayer* is another honorific occupation. In Homeric Greece the priest was generally a man who by repeated sacrifices and services had made himself dear to a god and had then set up an altar on his own account, or else he was a noble to whom his fellow-tribesmen had confided the care of a common shrine. As a supposed expert in "getting results" from a sacrifice the priest could command fees, so that he stood high, not only from his favor with the god, but also as a man of substance. In Homer's eyes all priests were rich.

The priest becomes the parent of various intellectual pursuits and learned professions which in time win no small credit. In Greece there began to be visible a scholar's pride, and it was a Greek who protested that the mathematicians of Sicily degraded their science when they applied it to the problems of machines.

Among the economic employments *agriculture* has generally stood higher than trade and manufacture, and *wholesale trade* higher than retail trade. In England a nobleman may engage in banking or wholesale trade without loss of dignity, but he may not keep a shop. *Industrial employments*, on the other hand, have been demeaning. Through a large part of the world to-day the stigma on manual labor keeps the proud unproductive, incites them to hatch innumerable schemes to live without work, and prompts them to offer desperate resistance to any move which seems to endanger their system of living off other people. In China and Malaysia the well-to-do wear their fingernails long in order to advertise their exemption from labor. Frequently the nail is six or eight inches in length, supported by a silver case, and in some instances it reaches a growth of twenty inches. To the Oriental mind, what offends most is work that soils the hands. The copyist or clerk will starve rather than turn to begriming tasks.

In South America everybody "who is anybody" shuns physical labor as if it were a defilement. In Argentina the American machinery expert setting up steam threshers has to check his impulse to doff his coat and "pitch in" lest at evening he be put off with the peons in the barn instead

of sitting at the ranchman's table. The observatory assistant considers it beneath his dignity to unpack a box of precious astronomical instruments just from Paris, so turns the job over to a stupid peon. In Peru, university seniors in mining engineering, who had been given the run of an up-to-date mine under an American engineer, refused to follow him in donning overalls and operating the greasy machinery. Their idea of a gentleman's technical education is to stand by in clean raiment and watch the machine go while the expert explains its operation. The high-school professor of chemistry in Peru finds great difficulty in inducing his students to perform with their own hands the assigned laboratory experiments.

In our South negro slavery has built up strong reaction habits respecting manual labor. The old-time gentleman farmer rode about his plantation on horseback and often gave the closest attention to farm work; but never would he doff his coat and wield an implement himself. After the Civil War many of this class were obliged to till their land themselves. To the Southerner, the pathos of this experience lies, not in the fatiguing nature of farm work, but in the mortification it brought to men bred in planter traditions.

Still lower than handicraft is *menial labor*. Probably our American colleges are the only higher institutions of learning in the world where a student can wait at table and tend furnaces without becoming a social outcast. In missionary schools in China pupils at first refused to bring in chairs for the seating of guests; it was "coolie work." In Cuzco, Peru, the ladies in the English mission hospital lost caste with the Peruvian ladies because they had been seen sweeping the walk and dusting the windows. The inference ran: "They must have been servants in their own country." In Chile the poor flee service at the first chance. "My mozo," said to me a Valparaiso physician, "who came raw from the hacienda seven years ago, a mere ragamuffin glad to carry a bag for a dime, is now so uppish that he won't be caught in the street with a parcel in his hand, let alone carrying a box on his shoulder."

The disgrace of manual labor is felt most in a caste society. Aversion to menial service, on the other hand, may be strongest when the spirit of democracy makes each too proud to be at the beck and call of another. This is why it is so difficult to induce native American young women to aid in the household save under the name of "help" and as *quasi*-member of the family rather than servant. The scarcity of native-born domestics is largely owing to the unwillingness of many housewives to forego the airs and condescension of the "mistress." The

higher social position of factory girls explains why, the country over, domestics with board earn about the same wages as mill girls without board. The latter are willing to take two-fifths less pay in order to spare their self-respect. That working girls at their dances sometimes hang out the sign, "No servant girls admitted," is not quite so undemocratic as it appears. The same feeling accounts for the great difference in popular attitude toward the millionaire who marries his stenographer and the one who marries his cook. The one affair is romance, the other comedy.

WEALTH AS BASIS OF SOCIAL GRADATION

As we recede from the barbarian mind what one *does* matters less than how much one *has*, so that the principal basis of gradation becomes *wealth*. In republican Rome the figures yielded by the "census" fixed one's rank. To the Roman it seemed perfectly natural that the rich should be the aristocrats; still, he recognized that time added to the respectability of wealth and felt a certain contempt for the *parvenu*. Only slowly might one work up into the aristocracy, for advancement from grade to grade was regulated by strict laws. To raise one's family a single step was the ambition of a lifetime.

The rich strive to reserve to themselves "noble" occupations, such as warfare, government, sport, exploration, learning, the fine arts. If they do not exclude the commoner, they make access to such pursuits costly. Thus knighthood has always been reserved for the cavalry arm, since only the man of means could provide himself a mount. For the gallant foot-soldier there has been no such recognition. In the same way the wealthy have monopolized, so far as they could, all but the minor posts in government, the motive being not so much to control the policy of government to their own advantage as to gain prestige. At Oxford and Cambridge universities, the training schools for the British ruling class, the students are obliged to live like gentlemen in commons or in private apartments quite as expensive. There is no place whatever for the poor young man, let alone one who is "working his way."

Wealth *acquired* confers far less dignity than wealth *inherited*. In early Cincinnati, while the aristocracy of the town was unquestionably founded on pork, it made a great difference whether a man killed pigs for himself or whether his father had killed them. The secret of the distinction is that the money-getter is thought of as having slaved and served for his money, but in a generation the sweat by which it was acquired has dried, the tricks resorted to, the toiling, lowly beginning,

the fawning for favors or orders or contracts or patrons or customers, have been forgotten. Visible exertion, solicitude, and eagerness have been replaced by the cold unanxious calm of opulence.

Often one kind of wealth confers more prestige than another. In the pastoral stage the size of one's herd is what counts. In feudal society the extent of one's landed estate was decisive, whereas in modern society it matters little what kinds of property are represented in one's sheaf of securities. Nevertheless, in England no millionaire is really in line for social and political recognition until he has planted himself on his country estate, while a like fondness for rural property as a social springboard is showing itself among rich Americans.

DERIVATIVE CRITERIA OF SUPERIORITY

Even when wealth is the bedrock of status, one's actual rating depends on certain conventional tokens of opulence. Among these are:

1. *Scale of living.* An obvious lavishness contributes to high social repute. In dress, furnishings, equipage, and especially entertainment, good form fixes standards which are costly to attain. Any skimping, any sign of concern as to expense, is damning. Phrases like "cheap skate," "A cheap coat makes a cheap man," are charged with contempt for frugal spending. Hence the disdain of the useful as compared with the "ornamental," the value of mere rarity, the insistence on "stylishness," the esteem of material above form and the preference for the handwrought over the machine-made.

2. *Abundance of personal service.* The rendering of menial service even to one's self degrades. In the Old South the planters kept great numbers of house servants to wait upon them. Before the war a Southern representative expressed amazement in Congress on learning that a Northern colleague blacked his own boots, and declared that no "gentleman" could do a thing like that. In India the cheapness of servants results in incredible standards of being waited on. A little Anglo-Indian girl at her first tea in England was observed to be weeping. It came out that never before in her life had she been expected to *stir her own tea*. The aristocratic spirit of the later Roman Empire showed itself in the fact that the men of the senatorial families kept about them a great number of servants, and never appeared in public without a *cortège* resembling an army. But even to-day at the older English universities American Rhodes scholars are looked at askance for doing for themselves things which the British student has done for

him by his "scout." Incapacity to exist without the services of menials is looked upon as a mark of gentility.

In South America to-day no first-class passenger carries his bag between cab and railway coach. In hotel or club the guest is respected by the servants to the degree that he will be waited on. If he does things for himself, he is despised and insulted. The Peruvian lady goes to church attended at a respectful distance by a small servant carrying her prayer book and umbrella. The Argentine astronomer shrinks from looking after and covering his instrument. The American rector of a Peruvian university had to set an example of self-help in order to rid his students of the idea that in their archæological excursions they must take along servants to care for the horses and prepare the meals.

3 *Exemption from all useful employment.* Not to have to do anything for a living is signal proof of a fortune exempting one from the common lot. The gentleman may be very busy, but he will be busy with his pleasures, his sports, his hobbies, his philanthropies, his public services; not with gainful pursuits. If he does anything remunerative, it will be work of the desk, not of the tool. The distinction roots, no doubt, in the contrast of intellectual with manual, of plan with performance, of giving orders with taking them. But it is possible that the age-old scorn of manual labor has sprung in part from its repulsive associations, e.g., sweat, grime, bad odors, ill-kept teeth, uncared-for fingernails, and neglect of the body. If so, it may gain dignity with the appearance of educated, well-paid men who, nevertheless, work with tools. In the well-groomed electrician or engineer who still gets his hands oily, manual labor loses its old offensive associations. If hand-work generally were performed by well-read, self-respecting, cleanly people, no doubt the stigma on it could not be sustained. From this point of view, the cheapening and diffusion of the bath tub, the shower-bath, underclothing, the tooth-brush, the nail scissors, the safety razor, and the leather shoe are democratizing society by sapping the very basis of class distinctions.

4 *Good breeding.* A leisure class always gives great attention to the arts of social intercourse and cultivates the impulses appropriate to pleasure association. Those "to the manner born" despise *parvenus* as lacking the gracious self-effacing ways of "gentle" folk, and insist that nothing but breeding can form the soul of the gentleman or lady. When wealth shifts to new families, dignity, quietness, and refinement are the emphasized assets of the old element.

5-*Possession of an ornamental culture.* Another test by which the born members of the leisure class fend off the rising is the possession of lore and skill which the self-made have had no time to acquire. Such lore will be as remote as possible from the knowledge underlying the useful arts and professions. It will have to do with means of self-expression and sources of enjoyment rather than with the utilitarian branches.

PERSONAL RATING VERSUS SOCIAL CLASS

What, it may be asked, is the relation of the social gradation I have been describing to the ratings men continually make of their fellows on the basis of *ability, success, and character*? The answer is that while such differences greatly influence men in their treatment and trust of one another, they do not of themselves create social grades. Sometimes the social hierarchy pays no heed whatever to such values. At best it takes account of them, but not as if they were the natural foundation of social grades. We consider a society as remarkably healthy in tone when the man of unusual achievement, the poet, artist, thinker, or explorer, has entrée to the highest social class. But one never finds such a class composed entirely of achievers, irrespective of their pecuniary means and style of living.

Character, too, may be given no little weight in placing one in the social scale. The hero or saint, the founder of a religious order or a new philanthropy, is likely to be a privileged person, above all conventional distinctions. On the other hand, the rich or well-born who shows himself mean or craven, makes himself ridiculous, or flouts the current moral standard may be cast out from his social class. Nevertheless, such concessions of class to common-sense personal ratings should not blind us to the fact that definite and inheritable social gradings *never* rest on practical worth-differences among individuals, but always on *impersonal* differences in respect to employment, function, wealth, and the conventional signs of wealth.

RESULTS OF GRADATION

The recognition of impersonal differences affects the classes in various ways:

1. *The inferior is required to repress all signs of emotion in the presence of the superior.* Thus in Japan under the old régime talking in the presence of the superior, or laughter, or curious questions, or expressions of surprise—anything revealing the slightest emotion on the

part of the humbler—was considered discourtesy and punished with great rigor.

2. *Personality is very unequally developed in superior and inferior.* Says Gulick of Old Japan:

While, therefore, it is beyond dispute that the old social order was communal in type, and so did not give freedom to the individual nor tend to develop strong personality among the masses, it is also true that it did develop men of commanding personality among the rulers. Those who from youth were in the hereditary line of rule, sons of Shōguns, daimyos, and samurai, were forced by the very communalism of the social order to an exceptional personal development. They shot far ahead of the common man. Feudalism is favorable to the development of personality in the favored few, while it represses that of the masses.

3. *Status, not bargain, regulates dealings between superior and inferior.* Says Gulick:

The idea of making a bargain when two persons entered upon some particular piece of work, the one as employer, the other as employed, was entirely repugnant to the older generation, since it was assumed that their relations as inferior and superior should determine their financial relations; the superior would do what was right and the inferior should accept what the superior might give without a question or a murmur. Among the samurai, where the arrangement is between equals, bargaining or making fixed or fast terms which will hold to the end, and which may be carried to the courts in case of differences, was a thing practically unknown in the older civilization. Everything of a business nature was left to honor and was carried on in a mutual confidence.

4. *Fines and indemnities are graded according to social status.* The code of Hammurabi fixed damages with reference to the social class of the injured man. In early Europe the *wergeld* or social value of a man constituted the basis for fines and indemnities, and every man had a *wergeld* fixed by law. Thus in the code of the Alamans the life of a freeman is valued at 160 sous, freedman 80, slave 40. The Visigoths fix for the life of a freeman a compensation twice that for the life of a freedman. The Frisians make a long tariff of indemnities for every sort of blow, then add: "These figures are for freemen. For nobles multiply by three, for serfs take half."

5. *The inferior comes to be regarded, not simply as of less worth, but as existing for the sake of the superior.* In a Vedic metaphor describing "the altar of the King's state," the priests and the nobles are

the bricks, while the common people are "the filling between the bricks." In the political thought of the slave-holding South the planter and merchant class were the people for whose benefit society existed—the "Spartans"—while the slaves and manual laborers were the "mudsills" of the social edifice.

Where the spirit of the Old South survives in its purity, an elaborate "lady" worship fails to conceal the universal unconscious assumption that God placed women here for the sake of the men. The male sex has obviously shaped the ideals *girls* are taught to realize, but the female sex has had little share in shaping the ideals *boys* are taught to realize. It is taken for granted that women should find their mission in serving, pleasing, and inspiring men, but no one suggests that the male sex has its end in anything it does for women. Its end is within itself. The young woman must cultivate a conciliating and caressing manner, and avoid opposing or disagreeing with men. If she has opinions she dissembles them, and if she has learning she hides it lest male irritation blast her with the reproach "unwomanly." To please men she must wear delicate and flimsy clothes, no matter what they cost her fingers or her purse, and shun the plain but convenient "tailor-made" garments. Male opinion frowns on the widow who remarries as putting her own happiness above loyalty to a man's memory; but no one thinks less of the widower who remarries. The divorced man goes everywhere, but the divorced woman is ostracized no matter what her justification. The men hold under constant surveillance the reading, acquaintance, and activities of their womenfolk, and expect the woman to subordinate her own notion of what is proper for her to the judgment of her nearest male relative. The assumption is that woman's repute and standing are of more consequence to her menfolk than to herself.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why has fighting been almost always an honorific employment?
2. Account for the high social status of the clergyman.
3. What is the root of the disdain felt for manual labor?
4. Why is wealth inherited more honorific than wealth acquired?
5. Why is ceremonial cleanness associated with social superiority?
6. Show how an ornamental culture becomes a class badge.
7. What are the results of long-established social gradation?

EXERCISES

166. What are the factors which fix the social rating of those creating a new occupation, e.g., social workers, or county agricultural agents?

167. Outline an educational program designed to remove from children's minds the stigma on manual labor.
168. When mental measurement has been so perfected as to afford a solid basis for mind-grading, would you want to see decided pride in the A and B people and humility in the D and E people? or would you try to blunt the implications of mental grading by such ideas as: "A man's a man for a' that"; "Don't blame a man for his heredity"; "It's *character* that counts"; "All souls are equal in God's sight."
169. Ought we professors to think *less* of the young woman who supports herself through the university doing fine laundering, or think *more* of her? If the latter, should we *show* our admiration, or *conceal* it?
170. After looking over the advertising in the *Saturday Evening Post* or *Vogue*, explain how advertising nourishes snobbishness.
171. What is the effect on snobbishness of (1) the tooth-brush drill in elementary schools; (2) the private fitting school; (3) the custom of manicuring; (4) cooking classes for school girls; (5) Ingersoll watches; (6) the parlòr car; (7) the dancing academy; (8) the vacuum cleaner; (9) the cafeteria; (10) the college fraternity?

CHAPTER XXVI

SEGREGATION AND SUBORDINATION

IN case the sense of worth difference sharpens to such a point that the social superior shuns *association* and *intermarriage* with the inferior, society comes to be made up of closed hereditary classes. Thus among the Saxons of the eighth century the law punished with death the man who should presume to marry a woman of rank higher than his own. The Lombards killed the serf who ventured to wed a free woman, while the Visigoths and Burgundians scourged and burned them both. Among the early Germans a freedman remained under the taint of ancestral servitude until he could show four free-born ancestors.

As class lines harden, the upper class becomes jealous and resists the admission of commoners, however great their merit or wealth; so that *birth* or *purity of blood* comes to count for more than the differences of *occupation* or *wealth* which raised up the original social inequalities. Worth distinctions which in their early form may stimulate the ambitious to do their best become paralyzing as they stiffen into caste, because they grant no recognition to individual achievement.

HEREDITARY NON-INTERCOURSE

In a caste society to *look down* on some one is a spiritual necessity. Aloofness shows itself first in the highest class, but presently the intermediate classes become infected with snobbery, and each grade shrinks from all below it. In England the wholesale tradesman looks down upon the retail tradesman, the latter looks down upon his clerk, the clerk looks down upon the woman who lets him lodgings, and she in turn looks down on the man who cobbles her shoes. In reverse, the man who works with his hands looks up to the petty shopkeeper and *he* looks up to the big tradesman. This one looks up to the banker or manufacturer, who looks up to the landed gentry, who look up to the peers, while at the apex of the whole organization stands the throne.

Each class avoids its inferiors as if their presence tainted the air. In India low-caste people are excluded from the temples. In England there is a rule that the railway porter shall not put any one into an

apartment occupied by one of the nobility. Moreover, the holder of a first-class or a second-class ticket is entitled to a refund in case a passenger with a ticket of a lower class (his own compartment being full) is put in his compartment. The theory is that the ticket holder has paid for exclusiveness as well as for accommodation. In a quiet way the lowly born, save the winners of scholarships, are effectually excluded from the great endowed schools like Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, and from the two old universities.

As society becomes aristocratic, humane feeling becomes class-bound. Thus an English newspaper gave thanks that while six hundred persons lost their lives in a Chicago theater fire, none of them was of any distinction. On the other hand, tenderness for the high-born makes even-handed justice impossible. It was easy to find law for imprisoning Stead, the fearless London journalist who in his "Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon" exposed the villainies of men in high social position, but none was found for punishing the villains themselves. The worst discoveries of the commission which investigated the frauds committed by British officers in the purchase of army stores during the Boer War were never made public, because of the eminence of the persons involved. No doubt their own class ostracized them, but it would not give the low-born a handle for scoffing.

ORIGINS OF HEREDITARY ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

Inequality is never so hopeless as when the inferior *becomes dependent for security or livelihood* upon the favor of the social superior. Before the reign of law the weak had to seek the protection of the strong. In Homeric times power regularly fell to the strong hand. Amidst conditions of insecurity, the submitting of one's self to the powerful constituted a kind of insurance; one consented to periodic exactions and dues in order to escape utter ruin. So men commended their lives and goods to individuals who appeared to be strong enough to protect them unless, indeed, they fell directly beneath such power through being conquered by it.

The feudalism Cæsar found among the Gauls sprang neither from the conquest of one people by another nor yet from the fidelity of retainers to a military chief, but arose out of economic inequality coupled with state weakness. The state, being rudimentary, was unable to exact obedience of the great as well as of the small. Hence, the weak man, finding no shelter in the public powers, became an *ambact*, i.e., he sought the support of some strong man and paid for it with service.

He addressed himself to one of the great men and besought protection against all other grandees.

If the state, instead of keeping the social classes in balance, recruits its officials chiefly from the superior class, the lower orders will sink into dependence. Thus, under the Roman Empire justice was administered, not as with us by experts, but by high functionaries such as governors and prefects, all chosen from the senatorial nobility. Between the official and the local nobles soon grew up such fellow-feeling and mutual favor that ordinarily no man of humble station could win a lawsuit against a noble. Accordingly the weak man seeking justice had to provide himself with a powerful patron.

Economic calamity bearing particularly upon the smaller property-holders will crush them into permanent dependence in case the law tolerates such a relation. The loss of an independent status by the petty landowners of the Roman Empire seems to have been connected with wars and disasters in the third century, which brought many farmers into debt to the great proprietors. This burden, together with the advantage of the big man in all legal contests, compelled great numbers to part with their land by pretended sale or gift and to occupy it under the *precarium* tenure.

The small peasant who solicited protection began by transferring to the protector almost everything he had. He did not leave his holding, but his sons had no claim on it. By donation or fictitious sale the man transferred the land to his protector, receiving in return a gracious permission to live out his days upon it. The proprietor might impose on the precarist any conditions he pleased. He might exact an annual rental or require manifestations of gratitude and deference, the *obsequium*. Since no formal contract defined the dependent's obligations, he might be lawfully dispossessed at any moment. His tenure was entirely at the pleasure of the patron. Hence he must gain and constantly keep the good will of the great man. He had to be always in the attitude of a suppliant. Short of slavery, no system more destructive of manliness can be imagined; yet under the later Empire freemen and property-owners unsheltered by the state were continually turning over their holdings to neighboring great proprietors, in order to receive them again under a precarious tenure. The church bitterly denounced the spread of the practice, but was unable to arrest it.

At the beginning of the American régime in the Philippines the mass of the agricultural Filipinos were tenants on large estates. The owner was the *amo* or master; his tenants were his *dependientes*. Most

of them were hereditary bonded debtors of the *amo*. The debtor himself might not know the origin of the obligation which came down to him from his father, he was ignorant of its amount, nor did he understand how it increased or might be decreased. In crisis or trouble he appealed to his *amo*, thus adding new links to his chain. He had nothing laid by for the future nor any means of storing food to carry him from one harvest to the next. The *dependientes* were bound, not only to work for the *amo* on account of their "debts," but also to stand by him in all matters. From Panama to Magellan, free agricultural labor as we know it does not exist, for peonage binds the rural masses to the owners of the *haciendas*. In Southern Colombia, for example, four days in each week the agricultural laborer is bound to work at a wage of from five to ten cents a day in return for the use of a plot for his house and truck patch. Of course, such pitiful earnings do not suffice for the needs of his family, so he is obliged to run into debt to his *amo* for money or supplies. Since he can never work off this debt and the law does not permit him to leave the estate until it is liquidated, the peon becomes virtually a serf bound to work all his life for a nominal wage. He can change employers only in case some one pays his debt, and this binds him to a new master. The rural population of the tropical parts of Latin America are in a like state of dependence and subserviency. In Mexico, however, the late revolution has wiped out peonage.

The appearance of very large employers in places remote from the centers of population, monopolizing employment of a certain kind or within a certain district, as also the more and more cunningly concerted action of employers, through their associations, are creating in some parts of the United States a half-feudal dependence of the wage-earner. Workingmen are herded in company towns, lodged in company houses, forced to trade at company stores, paid in company money, and hampered in their comings, goings, and meetings by armed company underlings. In some cases even churches and schools are built and controlled by the company. Moreover, a hundred lumber companies united in an association may confront the applicant for labor with a printed form to sign, in which he declares that he is competent to do the work required and is familiar with all its duties, and furthermore requests his previous employers to furnish the company information as to his character and record. This means that as condition of obtaining employment the applicant must waive his right to sue under the law for injuries received in the course of his work and to sue under the law for defamation of character.

SUBORDINATION AND FIXITY

When the inferiors are severally in a state of dependence upon the superiors, the healthful circulation of families between the upper and the nether levels in the social system ceases. Competition is too clogged and feeble to bring about rearrangements of the elements in society. There is no staircase by which brogans may mount and patent-leather boots descend. Peasant ability finds hardly a path up, while sloth or incapacity does not drop a "gentle" family into the toiling mass. Generation after generation, high families stay up, while lowly families stay down. Handicapped by dependence, ignorance, and unfair laws, the farm hand, no matter how hard-working and capable, never becomes an owner of land, never breaks into the charmed circle. In the West-coast countries of South America no laborer rises through tenancy to ownership as he does at times in Argentina and far oftener in the United States. With the whole machinery of law and the state in their hands, the proprietors see to it that the clever lads from the people shall not elbow aside their own sons, be they never so lazy and spendthrift.

SUBORDINATION AND CHARACTER

All about us we see how the constant immediate dependence of one human being upon the favor of another blights native self-respect and self-assertiveness. The "tip" in lieu of a fixed wage, by making the servant dependent upon the served, fosters obsequiousness in the one and the patronizing spirit in the other. The growing economic dependence of wives upon husbands owing to the disappearance of household industries from the home threatens to sap the character of the married woman and constitutes a serious obstacle to her rising to a higher position in the home and in society. The dependence of professors of the ethical or social sciences upon governing boards composed of wealthy men or reflecting, perhaps anticipating, the wishes of politicians or donors, jeopardizes that vigor of character and candor of utterance essential to their largest service. The dependence of the clergyman upon the financial "pillars" in his church leaves him less free to apply the touchstone of Christian principles to current business practices. Advertiser or "interest" control over newspapers is making many newspaper men feel like helots.

Dependence wilts manhood as surely as the tropic sun wilts Northern energy. However stiff the native backbone of a race, a few generations under the yoke will make them worms. The type of character

we stigmatize as "Asiatic" testifies, not to the presence of innate weakness in the races of Asia, but to their long subjection to arbitrary power. The nearer is a class to the bottom of the social heap, the worse will its members be deformed in spirit, and the less often will they exhibit the normal traits of freemen.

In born dependents, servility, sycophancy, lying, and petty thievery are as natural as it is natural for a starving crop to be yellow; yet these by-products of pressure are pointed to as proofs of a poor moral endowment. Against a background of such faults stand out the more brilliantly the high spirit, manliness, and sense of honor of the hereditary superiors. Character-contracts social in origin are interpreted as inborn. To divert attention from their underpinning of privilege, the superiors point to the low-caste and say: "Look, *they* are the dull-witted, the incapable; *we* are the well-born, the fittest. Our mastership and our reward are of Nature's own giving. We are the cream that rises to the top of the milk."

It is impossible for inferiors generally to prove their mettle until they have freedom and knowledge, and hardly can they win these so long as they are shut out from government. But, since beings so benighted are clearly unfit to have a voice in governing, social inferiority tends to perpetuate itself. Those of low degree stay low until some vast upheaval such as follows the invention of gunpowder or of printing, the discovery of the New World, the growth of cities, or the rise of the capitalistic method of production gives able and ambitious commoners their chance to win knowledge or wealth and break into the master circle.

THE FATE OF CLOSED CLASSES

An upper class shrewd enough to admit upcomers may last indefinitely. The new blood it absorbs corrects the thinning of "blue" blood. The heroes and achievers admitted brighten its fading prestige and lend color to its claim of natural superiority. But it is human nature for those who control a good thing to keep it all for themselves and their children. The greater the luster of a nobility, the more loath are its members to share this luster with outsiders. Hence, unless the iron hand of a monarch holds open the door in order to placate his commoners or stimulate the zeal of his servants, an upper class closes itself to upstarts and becomes a hereditary caste.

Thenceforth it moves slowly but fatally toward its doom. As their achieving ancestors recede into the distance the patricians more and

more owe their exalted position to privilege rather than to personal worth or conspicuous service. With the aid of the props which an aristocracy well knows how to provide the high-born fool or weakling stays up, while the low-born man of ability is shut out from wealth and honor. Shielded from that natural elimination of the unfit to which the common people are exposed, a closed upper class loses in the course of four or five generations the virility of its achieving ancestors and becomes an imposture. Nevertheless, thanks to mating continually with the most beautiful women in the population, it gains in good looks and is never so patrician in feature as in the period when it is unable to produce from its loins enough men of brains and force to vindicate its privileges.

Its tendency to beget handsome fools does not, however, cause an aristocracy to abate by one jot its pretensions to better clay. It nurses carefully its prestige and spares nothing in pose, manner, and surroundings that will keep up the illusion of its superiority. It realizes that entailed estates are not everything, for if their owners miss too many kinds of distinction they will cease to be looked up to. So it not only cherishes and parades its ancestral glories, but, whenever a new source of prestige appears, it promptly gets close to it. Aristocrats take under their patronage such dispensers of glory as minstrels, troubadours, poets, artists, orators, priests, and clerics. If hardihood is admired, their young men will be sportsmen and explorers; if letters are honored, they will play Macænas; if learning is prized, they will varnish themselves with a thin coating of scholarship. Aristocrats of long lineage dare not let themselves be outshone. They must be the best groomed, the best mannered, the most splendid, must be seen against the richest background or in the brightest limelight. They must be among the first to fly, to navigate under water, to scale a peak, to cross a desert, or to visit a closed land. War with its command of the many by the few gives them their chance, for nobles have a traditional affinity for the martial. Moreover, they exalt themselves by appealing to a theory of heredity that science smiles at, and cry down the rôle opportunity plays in individual destiny.

Thus an effete hereditary caste contrives to keep itself at the apex of society until in some crisis it fails to meet the test and its hollowness is plain to all men. Then its privileges are abolished, it collapses like an empty sack, and the way is open for a new and abler group of families to climb into its vacant seats, or else for the social system to be modified to give freer play to competition.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why is difference of occupation or wealth replaced by birth as basis for inequality in social status?
2. Show that the presence of inferiors taints the air unless they are engaged in rendering service.
3. How does the hereditary economic dependence of one class upon another arise?
4. What happens to the inferior when the social superiors wield the powers of government?
5. What was the status of the precarists in later Roman society?
6. Describe the status of the peon.
7. Show the close connection between subordination and fixity.
8. What are the traits of character of hereditary dependents?
9. Why does a closed upper class always degenerate?
10. How do degenerating aristocrats keep up the illusion of superiority?

EXERCISES

172. Discuss whether immigration is likely to give rise to caste in the United States.
 173. Aside from immigration is the principle of caste likely to gain or lose in the United States? Why?
 174. What are the beneficial functions of social inequality and what are the limits within which it should be confined?
 175. What is the difference between the theory of heredity which an aristocracy offers in self-justification and the scientific theory of heredity?
 176. Discuss the comparative power and security of an upper class (1) under a caste system, (2) under a system of open classes.
 177. When a European works manager beckons to a laborer, the man is likely to come running. What has prevented such a subserviency developing here—economic conditions or the democratic spirit?
 178. Read the section "Subordination and Character" and consider what it suggests as to the relations between faculty and students.
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CHAPTER XXVII

EQUALIZATION

IN order to insure their descendants a good place in society, the high rear barriers against the irruption of ability from below. A man who has a title, a high office, or an honorable function keeps it in his family line, if he can. However proud he may be of having risen by his own efforts, the "self-made" man generally leaves his money to his son, although by so doing he spoils his son's chance to "make" himself. The successful will perpetuate in their families their every social advantage, even if they have to kick down the ladder they climbed by.

But such a closed upper caste presently becomes a sham. Robes, titles, pomp, and state cannot hide the growing mediocrity of the so-called "best." For the hereditary ease of the privileged families is quite the worst thing that could befall them, since it enables their fools to thrive and multiply. The whole theory of caste shatters on the iron fact that achievers are not mating with their like and hence do not transmit their gifts undiminished to their sons. In truth, the leading element in a healthy democracy, recruited as it is from every stratum, more nearly comprises "the best people" than a titular nobility.

Who resist the endeavor of the successful thus to stereotype inequalities? Who level the barriers they have raised? Certainly not the ignorant and inert masses. The nether strata are quite too short-sighted to make sacrifices to keep the gangways open for the ascent of their posterity. They will be found more intent on "bread and circuses," largess and festivals than on opportunities for their children. It is *the middle class*, which has at once the wit to assault the doors of opportunity and the capacity to fill the posts to which they admit, that fights in the forefront of the battle for the restoration of competition.

First they wrest the control of the state from the upper class and make it a civic institution. The *feudal* state knows subjects, not citizens, subordinate to magnates rather than to the state itself. The *civic* state tolerates no intermediate powers between it and the citizen, it bears upon the individual directly instead of leaving him under the jurisdiction of his social superior. The civic state suppresses the superior's rights to

judge and punish, to coin money, to keep armed men, and to wage private war. Public offices are no longer inherited, but are intrusted to those who are loyal to the state rather than to their order. The making of law is wrenched from the hands of the upper caste and shared among the strong and rising elements in society. Then begins the recognition in the inferior of rights which enable him to show what pith there is in him.



PERSONAL FREEDOM

How much power does the law allow one human being to have over another? Is the husband at liberty to chastise, let, or sell his wife? Can the parent sell his child or bind it out during its minority or control its marriage? Does a debt or other obligation descend automatically to one's children? Is responsibility for it shared by one's kinsmen? Can the creditor seize the person of the delinquent debtor, cast him into prison, hold him to labor, or sell him? Is the son bound to follow the ancestral calling?

In the heyday of ancient slavery the slave had, in the eye of the law, no rights of any kind. He could not frequent the gymnasium or the public assembly nor follow certain arts—all these being reserved to the freeman. He could not atone for an offense with a fine; he must "pay with his body," i.e., be whipped. He could not testify save under torture, i.e., he "spoke with his body." But in time the law curtailed the master in punishing his slave and gave the slave the right to support, the right to hold property, and to dispose of it by will. The serf, who, being attached to the farm, could not be sold from home and family, was in a better position than the slave, who was a chattel.

The substitution of fixed dues in work or money for the serf's unlimited obligation to serve his lord was an easement. Then doors of escape opened—manumission, purchase of one's freedom, military service, living for a year and a day in a borough. But in England down even into the nineteenth century traces of serfdom survived in the system of agricultural labor under year contract, with imprisonment for the laborer who broke his contract. On the Continent the rootage of domestic service in serfdom was shown in the employment of servants by the year, with imprisonment or holding back of wages as a means of enforcement.

In the American colonies the system of indentured apprenticeship amounted to term serfdom. In the second quarter of the last century the new legal principle that failure to pay a debt cannot impair one's

personal freedom¹ cut the nerve of imprisonment for debt, and in 1867 peonage was made unlawful. The refusal of American law to require specific performance of the contract to perform labor saves men from being tied down by a promise made in a moment of rashness or distress. The recent recognition of the seaman's right to quit the ship any time the anchor is down removes the last vestige of involuntary servitude under American law.

Every enlargement of personal freedom has been resisted by the powerful as a blow aimed at the foundations of society. To take away the creditor's power over the person of the insolvent debtor would, it was claimed, cut off the poor from borrowing. To set free the serf from the glebe would result in untilled fields and tramp-infested roads. To abolish the master's power to whip or jail the worker who did not serve through the period of labor agreed on would kill enterprise by legalizing strikes. To cut the lariat of debt slavery by which the planter holds the peon would cause the plantations to be abandoned, while the erstwhile peons would lead a lazy half-wild life in their shacks in the jungle. Yet none of these predictions have come true because in every case a higher type of relation was discovered.

2 - INALIENABLE RIGHTS

In the early history of contract absolute freedom to bind one's self is the badge of a free man. It was only after an appalling experience with debt slavery that the ancient lawgivers, recognizing that *free will* is not always a *will to freedom*, denied a man the power to bind himself into thralldom or to pledge his person for the repayment of a loan.

Under the feudal system the law of contract well-nigh swallowed public law. By the oath of commendation men could destroy at a stroke their own freedom and that of their descendants. The giving of such far-reaching effect to a promise was freedom of contract gone mad. The doctrine that men are "born free and equal" is not a naïve assertion of natal equality in body or mind, but a rejection of the principle of inferior heredity status fixed by the act of some ancestor.

Gradually it was found necessary to recognize in the normal individual certain powers, of which he cannot divest himself, i.e., "inalienable rights." Modern law gives no force to a contract which without due equivalent cripples one's future freedom to act or to contract, e.g., to live in a certain place or outside a certain place, to marry or

¹ In 1829 it was estimated that 75,000 persons were annually imprisoned for debt in the United States.

not to marry a certain person, not to carry on one's trade or business, not to exercise the right of franchise or to exercise it in a certain way, or to forego one's legal rights, as, e.g., the passenger's right to damages for injury through the fault of a common carrier. In some of our states the debtor cannot waive the statutory exemptions in his favor nor the mortgager his equity of redemption. Legal standard insurance policies have virtually removed insurance from the domain of contract. Personal safety is not to be contracted away; one cannot legally bind himself to engage in dangerous work or to remain in a dangerous place. Statutes clothing the worker with the right to be paid his wages in cash and the right to indemnity for injuries received in the course of his work will not allow him to contract himself out of these rights. An agreement to assign to one's employer the patents of all one's future inventions is invalid unless restricted to inventions of a particular character. The courts throw out an unlimited contract of a technical employee not to set himself up in business, not to use in the service of another knowledge of secret processes which he may have acquired in the course of his employment.

In all these cases, what at first glance appears a fetter on the worker is really an enlargement of his freedom, *since it prevents the stronger from snatching out of the passing distress or dependence of the weaker a lasting advantage over him*. Thus we see that the famous assertion of the American Declaration of Independence that men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" is not a "glittering generality," but *the epitome of a great historic movement*.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Sometimes *organization* is the weapon by which the disinherited conquer for themselves a place in the sun. Demonstration of their collective strength may win them their first consideration from their superiors, or from officials, lawmakers, political parties, or public opinion. Uniting to formulate grievances, frame demands, oppose foes, reward friends, or name candidates may give political weight to a class which hitherto has been a cipher. Nor is this all. Organization opens the way to economic team work—coöperative buying, selling, shipping, or borrowing, boycott, strike, or concerted restriction of output—by which the weak, in case they are numerous, may wield a formidable power. There is, indeed, no class so humble that it cannot by hanging together hold back something its superiors want.

The strong are therefore solicitous to keep this ugly weapon out of

the hands of the weak. If they dare, they crush all such lower-class organization as "conspiracy." It is not a century since in England the combination of workmen to raise wages or to shorten hours was punished without mercy, while over the rest of Europe anti-trade-union laws were in force half a century ago. If they have to tolerate an organization of the weak, the strong try to wrest from it the means by which alone it may be made effective. They suppress picketing, outlaw the sympathetic strike, ban the strike to force out non-union men, and seize trade-union funds to pay damages to employers caused by acts ordered by the agents of trade unions. Our railroad companies at first refused to allow the farmers' grange to build a coöperative elevator beside their tracks, while a landlords' government threw Irish tenants into jail for agreeing not to take a farm from which a tenant had been unjustly evicted.

Another recourse of the strong is to circulate calumnies to blacken the character of the unions formed by the weak. They picture them as lawless and revolutionary. They set the police on them by the cry that they mask a "political" movement. Among us farmers' unions were declared to be tainted with "agrarianism," workingmen's unions with "socialism." The secrecy of such organizations—which is but that of the ordinary business corporation—is pictured as a cloak for sinister purposes and seditious plotting. Every wild utterance of an organizer is eagerly caught up and circulated as a clue to their subversive aims. The leaders of the movement are portrayed as selfish, unprincipled men, and their followers are scolded for wasting their time and money on meetings and agents instead of attending quietly to their work. (Only after their unions have survived this campaign of calumny does the weaker class reap in full the benefits which organization ought to confer.

THE DIFFUSION OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Diffusion of economic opportunity is brought about by the leaking out of the jealously guarded secrets, the "mysteries," of the various "crafts" and arts, by the abolition of the caste requirement that the son shall follow the calling of his father, by the breaking down of guild restrictions upon entrance to the skilled occupations, and by the abandonment of the policy asserted under the old régime in France that "the right to labor is a royal right which the prince may sell and subjects must buy." Equalizing, too, are the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the limitation of testate succession, and the adoption of the

principle that the estates of persons who leave no will shall be divided equally among the heirs. Coöperative credit, coöperative trade, and co-operative production have a like tendency, as well as the extension of government credit to farmers and the appointment of an expert adviser to help them to get the most out of their farms. The development of skill by public vocational education as well as by free professional schools preparing youth for the higher walks make the well-paid callings more accessible.

Much depends upon the shifting ratio that "poor men's opportunities" bear to opportunities for possessors of capital and technical knowledge. The gratuitous distribution to actual settlers of some two hundred million acres of the American public domain has had an incalculable effect in raising the economic, and therewith the social, plane of millions who work with their hands. Alluvial gold deposits have yielded small fortunes to tens of thousands of "placer" miners, whereas gold occurring in ore, since it can be extracted only with the aid of elaborate machinery, has largely gone to benefit the possessors of capital. The abandonment of the simple hand-labor processes for extracting natural wealth and the growing necessity for large initial capital for success in most lines of productive enterprise appear to have greatly lessened the ratio of "poor men's opportunities" to capitalists' opportunities. At the same time the perfecting of credit institutions enables the man of proved capacity to gain earlier control of the capital which he needs and thwarts many endeavors to make business enterprises hereditary. Besides this, *entrepreneur* ability—so scarce as to command that exorbitant price known as "the rewards of business success"—is in the way of being made more plentiful and cheap by schools of business administration, which disseminate a knowledge of the technique of such success.

THE SPREAD OF A MARGIN OF LEISURE

The masses have been political zeros partly because of their intense preoccupation with the stern task of gaining a living. Until they win a margin of free time the words of Jesus ben Sirach hold good:

The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure;
And he that hath little business shall become wise.
How shall he become wise that holdeth the plow,
That glorieth in the shaft of the goad,
That driveth oxen, and is occupied with their labors,
And whose discourse is of the stock of bulls?

He will set his heart upon turning his furrows;
 And his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder.
 So is every artificer and workmaster . . .
 So is the smith sitting by the anvil . . .
 So is the potter sitting at his work . . .
 All these put their trust in their hands,
 And each becometh wise in his own work . . .
 They shall not be sought for in the council of the people. . . .

But certain developments are giving the plain people time to look up from their work and to eye the common weal. Free land, bringing a let up in the struggle for food; the coming into being of a population of iron slaves—the machines—to do man's bidding; the greater speed and concentratedness of labor, which call for a shorter working day—these create for the workers a margin of leisure. Well employed, this means *time to read, to think, to confer together, to reach a common understanding, to organize, whereby the workers gain ability to conquer and to utilize for themselves political power.*

THE DIFFUSION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Knowledge is a kind of light and it is the illumined who make their way up the social scale. Hence social superiors endeavor always to keep under their control the instrumentalities of education.

The mediæval church taught the children of the common people what was essential to salvation, but had no idea of educating them to rise in life. The state at first institutes universities solely to provide it with trained servants, but as it gains in social purpose it pushes general education. Only when it opens an educational path to the summit for every youth able to climb the Parnassian steeps is it in the way of democratizing knowledge.

The cost of instruction is, however, but one item in the cost of an education, for the child has to have food and clothes while it is studying. The power of the bright sons of the poor to compete for the prizes of life with the sons of the well-to-do is limited by the financial inability of their parents to keep them long in school. It appears that out of 100 children who enter American city schools 45 drop out before reaching the sixth grade. Only 25 enter the high schools, and of these but 6 complete the course. The United States Commissioner of Education estimates that one-ninth of the pupils who began school in 1905 will graduate from the high school, and that one in seventy will graduate from college. Since a higher education is rapidly becoming requisite for

the better places in industry, government, and the professions, it is plain that *free instruction goes only part of the way* toward putting the children of the poor on an equal footing with the children of the well-to-do in vying for these better places. A society earnestly bent on equalizing educational opportunities *would see that no capable child quit school for financial reasons.*

Then look at the quality of the instruction society offers the children of the ill-to-do. The public elementary schools provide one teacher for forty or fifty pupils, while the best private schools insist on one teacher to every ten or fifteen pupils. So a society in earnest to wipe out caste, in so far as it rests on differences in preparedness for one's life-work, would spend *three or four times as much* as Americans now spend and would take and devote to the better distribution of knowledge a billion or two of dollars that now go for luxury, show, and vice.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

Once government responds to the will of the masses rather than to the will of the classes, there are many things it may do to soften inequalities and to prevent social advantages from becoming hereditary.

It may realize the equality of all before the law, neither riches nor poverty, neither intelligence nor ignorance, to receive consideration in the courts. It may also offer equal opportunity for citizens to serve the public according to their ability, making all offices accessible to the most competent as ascertained by impartial tests, irrespective of their party allegiance or service. By heavy levying on luxuries and on the unearned increment, as well as by a progressive taxation of property or incomes, government may make the peaks less towering. The anti-social haughtiness that, after two or three generations of divorce from hard work, grows in a family like a fungus on a dead tree may be forestalled by inheritance taxes so steeply graded as to thwart the money-maker's endeavor to endow his line for all time.

There will be fewer unearned fortunes, too, if nuggets of public wealth—such as forest, minerals, and water power—are not carelessly left lying about. Forethought and care with respect to the disposition of the public domain will cause natural resources to yield livelihoods for many instead of fortunes for a few. The curbing of monopoly in its protean forms by government regulation or ownership means fewer centers to poison the social body with the virus of competitive extravagance and contempt for labor.

On the other hand, the state may do much to protect the little

properties—so precious in fostering family independence and self-respect—against their enemies. “Blue sky” laws, wise usury laws, the suppression of “loan sharks,” the regulation of pawnbroking, public pawnshops, in some backward countries the inalienability of the cultivator’s holding, have this tendency. American law has been solicitous to limit the power of the creditor over the debtor. Instances are the *homestead exemptions*, which are general in our states, *personalty exemptions*, which reserve the tools of the artisan, the library and instruments of the professional man, and the stock and implements of the farmer from seizure by the creditor, and *wage exemptions*, which often go so far as to put sixty days’ wages of the head of the family beyond the reach of legal process.

Finally, the state uses means to encourage the formation of small properties. Among these are found mechanics’ lien laws, the regulation of insurance companies and savings banks, postal savings banks, the fostering of savings and loan associations and other forms of coöperative endeavor, the protection of the small investors in big companies, and, in some countries suffering from landlordism, the disintegration of large estates by special taxation, or the state purchase of such estates in order to create small proprietors.

REFLECTIVE STANDARDS OF APPRAISAL

Upper-class prestige, resting always on fortune, is dimmed to the degree that people leave behind them the barbarian admiration for the money-maker. The upper class strives ever to propagate the idea that the rich are the virtuous, the “better” people. But critical observation indorses the conclusion of the economist and moralist, John Ruskin:

In a community regulated only by laws of demand and supply, but protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, unsensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person.

To the degree that this view spreads, the class hierarchy is undermined.

Economic development has been quietly building us into an organism. Few active persons to-day are engaged in supplying directly the wants of their families. They are working for an indeterminate

body of consumers, customers, or patrons, and hence it is easy to think of them as serving the "public" or "society," as, in effect, *social functionaries*. But from this point of view the street-sweeper or road-mender gains in dignity, for he is rendering a service with which we cannot dispense. If he does his work skilfully and conscientiously, it is illogical to despise him.

On the other hand, from the social point of view, the envied idle rich not only have no claim to special consideration, but appear as the drones of a hive, the camp followers of an army, the stowaways of a ship, the deadbeats of a business. Leisure, to be sure, is honorable in those who, after having fought a good fight, retire betimes to rest and enjoy. But *unearned* leisure is an altogether different thing. So far as the interests of society are concerned, the hale man who all his life does nothing to balance his account with his fellow-men is a sheer parasite. That he lives upon the income of property he has inherited does not make his position less degrading. After all, a man's account is with his own generation rather than with his forbears. What the heir consumes costs the toil and sweat of his contemporaries; so that society may well say to him, "This is what we are doing for you; now what are you doing for us?"

The scandal of able-bodied persons loafing or playing through life in the midst of their busy fellows has pierced the skin even of the upper-class, so that they are fain to justify themselves by dwelling on the various counter-services the leisured render society—their unpaid work for the public, their philanthropic services, their attention to community affairs. But, while their property claims against society are definite and enforceable at law, their obligations are vague, only such, indeed, as they choose to acknowledge. The fact is that, with perhaps a twentieth part of what the leisure class costs it, society might go into the market and secure services equal in worth to the services it receives from them.

The feudal king obtained a district military captain by bestowing a fief; the modern state gains an educated army officer for a small fraction of the cost of a fief. A few castles of the Middle Ages harbored men of letters and learning; but to-day, if society wants a scholar, it does not leave him to seek a noble patron; it creates a professorship. In relieving distress, society no longer waits for Lady Bountiful; it calls in the retired doer or hires a trained social worker. We now see that to have good public servants you do not need to maintain a landed aristocracy; what you have to do is to open attractive careers

for trained men. In a word, the hereditary leisured have never rendered society a service which cannot now be had on far better terms from salaried, qualified workers.

Private property is a social-welfare institution because the hope of acquiring property powerfully stimulates the economic activities of the capable. But when accumulations are so handed on as to create generations of drones and butterflies, they are not a blower but a damper. Hence, just as inheritable functions, offices, and privileges have been abolished with good results, inheritable great fortunes will be made impossible. Not that a son may not inherit enough of his father's wealth to live on, but that no one may inherit a fortune so large as to kill in him all incentive to work and to tempt him into an extravagance of expenditure and conduct which discourages or corrupts the useful members of society.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show that the privileged are rarely the "best" people.
2. Why is it the middle class that leads the fight on privilege?
3. Show that every enlargement of personal freedom has been resisted as a blow aimed at the foundations of society.
4. Interpret and justify the phrase "Men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."
5. How do the superior fight organization of the inferior when it is no longer possible to deny them the right to organize?
6. How does the diffusion of leisure add to the political and social weight of the laboring class?
7. Show that free tuition does not suffice to diffuse educational opportunity.
8. What may the state do to encourage the formation of little properties?
9. How does sociology look upon the idle rich?

EXERCISES

179. Would it be well to make the privilege of inheriting property depend upon *ability*, as ascertained by mental measurement, i.e., to let the capable sons inherit as now, but restrict the fools to merely enough to live on?
180. Is there any difference between the "open shop" policy and an anti-labor-union policy?
181. What might we do to hinder the growth of agricultural landlordism?
182. Should public money be loaned to superior high school graduates to enable them to take a university course?
183. Indicate which of the following are anti-class and which merely ameliorative: (1) State grain elevators. (2) Public dispensaries. (3) The farm loan board. (4) Day nurseries. (5) Mothers' pensions. (6) County agricultural agents. (7) Consolidated rural schools. (8) Municipal band concerts. (9) University extension. (10) Asylums for the feeble-minded.

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THE INDIVIDUAL RELATION TO THE GROUP

CHAPTER	
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CHAPTER XXVIII

SOCIALIZATION

SOcialization is the development of the *we*-feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and will to act together. The process is affected by various conditions and circumstances and is not the same for those who never come into personal contact as for members of a primary group.

EARLY IMPRESSIONS OF SCENE

Sons of the same land have a mutual sympathy from the identity of their early impressions from the physical environment. Not that they will love one another—unless they meet homesick in a far country—but when they have to choose between strangers and their countrymen, they will prefer the latter. The recurrent unheeded impressions constitute, as it were, the stable background of individual experience. When people discover that they have the same background they are pleased and draw together.

In *The Native-Born* Kipling brings out clearly what it is that tends to make one people of those reared in the same climate and scene. The Australian calls upon his friends to drink

To the hush of the breathless morning
On the thin, tin, crackling roofs,
To the haze of the burned back-ranges
And the dust of the shoeless hoofs—

The Canadian's toast is

To the far-flung fenceless prairie,
Where the quick cloud-shadows trail,
To our neighbor's barn in the offing
And the line of the new-cut rail;
To the plough in her league-long furrow
With the gray Lake gulls behind—

South Africa has characteristic odors as well as sights and sounds.
Her son drinks

To the home of the floods and the thunder,
 To her pale dry healing blue—
 To the lift of the great Cape combers,
 And the smell of the baked Karroo,
 To the growl of the sluicing stamp-head—
 To the reef and the water-gold.

Still other elements hold the heart of the English bred in India. They drain the cup

To our dear dark foster-mothers,
 To the heathen songs they sung—
 To the heathen speech we babbled
 Ere we came to the white man's tongue.
 To the cool of our deep verandas—
 To the blaze of our jewelled main.

It is thus that each land becomes "home" and, however sharp the strife among its sons, they are likely to draw together when confronted with an alien people. Here indeed is the primitive strand of nationality.

EMOTIONAL COMMUNITY

From the reminiscences exchanged on an "old settlers' day" it is evident that what knit the hearts of the pioneers was the vivid experiences they passed through together—intense social pleasure at merry-makings and celebrations as well as suffering and anxiety caused by floods, drouths, blizzards, prairie fires, and Indian outbreaks. If foreign-born are interspersed among native settlers such experiences bring them all into sympathetic relations, and then the interchange of ideas gradually assimilates them. The non-British immigrants into the American colonies in the eighteenth century were assimilated much sooner when they settled on the Indian-fighting frontier than when they dwelt in groups in the safe seaboard strip.

The expansive emotions enlarge the heart more than do the depressive emotions. Golden moments, when one escapes from confining walls and beholds large horizons, when one has a delicious and unwonted sense of free and onward life, beget the *we*-feeling. Religious conversion is such an experience, and it ought to show itself in a greater force and range of sympathy and love.

During the early days of the first Russian revolution people were lifted out of themselves. Strangers met each other and suddenly talked like old friends. In a milk shop people would help themselves

and leave the right pay. The worst-looking specimen of a man would step off the path into the wet snow to make room for a woman or child. "A boundless bright good will flowed like waves from all the streets up into every room in the town. It was one of those vast miracles that come to a nation only at moments." "It was a dazzling revelation of the deep powers for brotherhood and friendliness that lie buried in mankind." It passed soon, because differences of aim and ideas made themselves felt.

Common hardships, perils, and maltreatment, as well as common deliverance, success, and triumph, socialize those who react to them in the same way. But unlike reaction to strain sunders men, as we see in the antipathy of martyrs to apostates, of fighters to skulkers, of rebels to cringers. Not those *in the same situation* but those who *feel and act alike in the same situation* are drawn together.

THE COMMON MEAL

From savage life on, *eating and drinking together* has been the favorite reviver of good feeling and the seal of amity, because feasting together *begets a genial and expansive frame of mind*. The ancient village community set such store by it that every available opportunity, such as the commemoration of the ancestors, the religious solemnities, the beginning and the end of field work, the births, the marriages, and the funerals, were seized upon to bring the community to a common meal. Even now, when we wish to weave a bond of fellowship or to fire men to join in a generous undertaking, we gather them about the banquet board. Indeed, to "break bread together" has a symbolic, even a mystic, significance, and we will not sit at meat with those against whom we intend to draw a color line or a social line.

RÔLE OF THE FESTIVAL

In olden time the larger societies provided for periodical assemblage in order not to disintegrate into bickering local groups or social classes. The socializing value of such assemblage lies in this: that in one another's presence people *are deeply moved in the same way at the same time and are conscious of their community of emotion*. In the words of Tarde a festival is

"that sovereign process by which the social logic of the sentiments resolves all partial discords, private enmities, envies, contempts, jealousies, moral oppositions of all sorts, into an immense unison formed by the periodic

convergence of all the secondary sentiments into a greater and stronger feeling, into a collective hatred or love for some great object, which gives the tone to all hearts and transfigures their dissonances into a higher harmony. Hence, the more a society in becoming complicated multiplies these dissonances, the more it has need of magnificent and frequent festivals."

"In the multifarious Hellenic festivals, Olympian games, Isthmian games, Panathenian processions, the triumphal return of the victorious athlete, etc., was expressed intense admiration for strength, agility and beauty, and for the heroes in which these qualities were embodied, also respect and love of the god or the goddess of the city—piety and patriotism blent in a unique combination. Rome had its triumphal marches of generals to the Capitol, its apotheoses of emperors which, like its gladiatorial games, glorified its love of glory, its appetite for dominion and conquest. The Middle Ages had its canonization of saints, its coronations, its jousts, its exposure of reliquaries in procession, all of them expressions of chivalric, feudal, or monarchic mysticism. We have our patriotic, political, or humanitarian festivals, such as military reviews, the funeral of Victor Hugo, the bringing back of the ashes of Napoleon, the unveiling of statues in honor of great writers, great artists, greater or lesser statesmen. There are no festivals . . . which have not the virtue of binding for the moment all souls into one bundle, united by a dominant feeling."

GROUP LIFE AS A SOCIALIZER

The members of a large well-ordered family are trained out of their native egoism by constant practice in adjustment to others. Hence, among those apt in winning and leading men—politicians, labor organizers, evangelists, and promoters—are found an unusual number who grew up with several brothers and sisters and so had no chance to form the solo habit.

Membership in an enduring and exclusive organization cannot but take one "out of himself." The common name, war cry, or flag, symbolizing the identity of the group, becomes in time an independent center of emotion, a charged Leyden jar. With its distinctive banner, colors, slogans, songs, festivals, and commemoration day, the group takes on personality and attracts a love which is not the same thing as love for its present members. Not only state and church gather such stimuli to feeling but, as well, colleges, guilds, political parties, and religious and fraternal orders.

To be hated and set upon by a common enemy generates the *we*-feeling. This is the case of the boys' gang, which can survive the

persecution of other gangs only if the members are loyal to one another. In the gang, therefore, is born that spirit of loyalty which lies at the foundation of most social relations. Says Puffer :

This gang loyalty, however, is by no means a loyalty to individuals only; it is a loyalty also to ideals. The boy refuses to "squeal" under pressure, partly to shield his fellows, but still more because squealing is contrary to the boys' moral code. He joins the tribal wars, partly because, like the good barbarian he is, he loves his neighbor and hates his enemy, but quite as much because certain fightings are demanded by the gang's standard of honor.

Disloyalty is the one unforgivable offense in boyish eyes, the one crime which inevitably leads to expulsion from the gang. . . . Among twenty-one boys who had been expelled from their gangs eleven were put out for disloyalty, three for fighting in bad causes, and but one each for all other reasons. There is no other institution on earth that can take its place beside the boys' gang for the cultivation of unswerving loyalty to the group.

The boys' club, under wise supervision, may have a magical effect in socializing even the little Ishmaelites of the street—the newsboys and bootblacks. With a growing interest in the club comes an ambition for its success, i.e., the corporate spirit. The joint ownership and management of the club and its common property is a most effective check upon the thievish propensities of its members. "When a boy has so far conquered the covetousness his hard lot of deprivation has bred into him so that he can, night after night, use tools and games which all boys desire to possess, and at the closing hour put them in their places and leave them behind him, he has taken his first lesson, probably, in that social conduct which makes of the individual a good citizen of his community."

A quarter of a century ago the George Junior Republic began to demonstrate that even in children the endeavor to find and apply rational rules of conduct creates a willingness to obey such rules. Then came the inmates of the Ione reformatory in California, with proof that they could make and enforce reasonable laws. More arresting, however, was the launching by Warden Osborne of the Mutual Welfare League in Auburn Prison, New York. Of late, self-government has been extended even to the inmates of military and naval prisons, so that the delinquent soldier actually has more to do with shaping the rules he lives under than does his exemplary comrade!

The point for us is not that lawbreakers have sufficient intelligence and fair play to make and administer good laws relating to their com-

mon life, but that in so doing they are *socialized*. As a challenging communal enterprise self-government identifies each inmate with *all* his fellow-inmates. The traditional fealty of the lawbreaker first to himself and then to his "pal" yields place to the new fealty to the whole body of prisoners. A man who has experienced this spiritual enlargement and self-discipline is likely to turn out a better *socius* on his return to society.

Schoolmen have caught the significance of these autonomous societies, and in hundreds of schools they have introduced pupil self-government. In the "school state" or "school city" popularity is won not, as in the autocratic school, by slyly or defiantly breaking rules, but by loyally living up to them, for they embody the wishes and sense of right of the pupils. A lad who learns the difficult art of team work and conforms willingly to restrictions growing out of the very nature of associate life is already half socialized and well on his way to becoming a good citizen in a democracy.

Fluctuation in the *we*-feeling which constitutes the group may be overcome by the interest attaching to *common group possessions*. The guilds of the Middle Ages insured themselves long life when they reared their beautiful guild halls. A religious society strikes root when it builds its own church and parish house. A college fraternity is quite justified in desiring a chapter house of its own, a literary society in fitting up a hall for itself. Noble municipal buildings—schools, libraries, museums, art galleries, and parks—fan the fading embers of civic feeling in the people of a city. The splendid town halls of Ghent and Bruges were inspirers as well as achievements of city patriotism.

The "old homestead," the ancient roof-tree, the entailed estate, play a great rôle in keeping alive family feeling. On the other hand, the nomadic tenant family characteristic of the modern city is likely to be loosely knit and to have no sense of oneness with ancestors. Always the well-to-do, who can build themselves massive homes which last for centuries, have preserved family solidarity better than the poor, whose flimsy habitations bring them little from their forbears.

SPORT AS A SOCIALIZER

A common master-enthusiasm socializes. In congested urban quarters the passion for play which springs up after the opening of a recreation center levels moldering barriers between nationalities and confessions, Americanizes the foreign-born, and creates a neighborhood consciousness. At American colleges in the Orient, athletic sports have

been found to be arch-propagandists of the doctrine of human equality. Youths of diverse races, religions, ranks, and castes find their level on the football field, where a prince may be tackled by a peasant, and on the baseball diamond, where the son of a pasha may be caught out at first base by the son of a licorice grower. At first the haughty, slow-moving scions of the ruling race—Turks, Druses of Lebanon, or Manchus—stand by watching the “madness” of the Americans; but presently the pulse of youth quickens, the game “gets” them, and they forget their rank in novel excitement and pleasures. In Porto Rico, the Philippines, China, wherever Americans have gone, they have made sport a means of winning the people and of creating good will among the natives themselves.

Antagonistic team games have the further merit that they teach the players to be *good losers*. In the earlier football matches between the teams of the mission colleges in China a team would retire from the field with great dignity when the game was going against it and it was in danger of “losing face.” The lesson it gradually learned of taking a thrashing with a smile is greatly needed in some other parts of the world. The ready resort to revolution in Latin America comes from the inability of the losers of a political contest to reconcile themselves to defeat. *Their excess of personal pride is an obstacle to socialization.*

The socializing factors so far considered involve some kind of *resemblance*. Sympathy springs up between those who feel themselves to be *alike* in some essential, who have some momentous experience, emotion, or possession *in common*. Professor Giddings therefore argues that what knits human beings together is the *consciousness of kind*.

COMMUNITY OF INTEREST

Perception of resemblance, however, is not the only thing that socializes. We are drawn toward the unlike if consistently they are found to be helpful to us, and become alienated from even our kindred if continually they get in our way. In other words, community of interest tends to socialize. *Interest* does not work so immediately and dramatically as *likeness and difference*, but it produces great effects if there be given time for it to work.

Hearty coöperation in matters of moment is a great socializer. Fellow feeling quickly develops among fighters in the same cause. “Comrade” is a word to conjure with. Agitated by strong common

emotions—fear, anxiety, grief, and elation—those who have long striven shoulder to shoulder against the same foe become dear to one another.

Athletic and debating contests between colleges generate “college spirit”; matches between town ball teams and hose companies foster town patriotism. The accepted remedy for petty bickering among country neighbors is to get them to *do something together*. What it is does not much matter.

As a growing city becomes unwieldy in size its people split into occupation groups and social classes; but the *we*-feeling revives if fresh common interests are discovered as, for example, public sanitation, the extermination of the malarial mosquito, or protection against impure food. The same happens if the encroachments of a public utility company sow in the hearts of all the nettle of common grievance and set them the common task of curbing an “octopus.” The persuasion that typhoid, drunkenness, prostitution, and degrading poverty are not inevitable, but can be banished by the right community action, renews the feeling of “our” city.

The naturalization of the foreign-born in America may not improve our politics, but it sets in motion certain forces which tend to weave the immigrant into the community. The politicians seek out the newly-fledged citizen and try to win him. They vie in endeavoring to interest him in our political contests, plying him with ideas and arguments to which he would have remained a stranger. Thus the franchise helps bring him into the citizen circle. On the other hand, an uncontrolled voting group is a menace to the state unless it is in a measure socialized. What can be hoped from voters who cannot read, who do not send their children to school, who belong to no organizations, and who live to themselves and never learn of common concerns by mingling with their neighbors? The voter should come into the circle of fellow citizens and expose himself to their influence.

COLLISION OF INTEREST

While finding others helpful to us kindles sympathy, finding others in our way engenders hostility. Harmony of interest socializes; clash of interest alienates. This is why brotherhoods have always been solicitous lest their unity be shattered by feuds. In the ancient village community every quarrel between individual members was treated as a community affair. Every dispute was brought before arbiters, or, in the gravest cases, before the folkmote. The medieval gild took measures that no quarrel between gild brothers should fester into a

feud or breed a lawsuit before any other court than that of the gild itself. The Christian sects, particularly those which take primitive Christianity as their model, aim to settle by brotherly counsel every dispute between the brethren, and even cast out the member who incontinently hales another into the law court. In rural America to-day it is accounted a shame if two worthy neighbors are allowed to become embroiled in a law suit.

Another precaution is to *set up rules* which make clear what each is entitled to in every case in which the interests of fellow members may be opposed. Forewarned, the brothers accommodate their expectations to what the established rule awards them and thus glide by situations which would have bred trouble. Still another recourse of the brotherhood is to stress the agreements of interest of its members and to keep in the background or slur over their divergences of interest.

DISRUPTIVE IDEAS

There are ideas which disrupt as well as ideas which socialize. The pseudo-Darwinian struggle-for-life philosophy causes each to eye his fellow-man as a possible competitor. The theory of an irrepressible conflict of classes in modern society is a dividing sword. In a few minutes' conversation with the women soldiers of the Battalion of Death guarding the Winter Palace on a night in November, 1917, the Bolsheviks were able to detach the working-class girls and break up a harmony that had stood the battle test. For the first time these girls beheld their comrades-in-arms as *bourgeoisie*, i.e., aliens. Likewise the idea that all employers are exploiters and that there can be no truce until private employment utterly disappears may kill in a simple-minded employee the good-will he feels toward an employer who has always treated him well.

Such an idea will make little headway, however, among those rooted in opposite ideas. The disappointments foreign-born socialists meet with in making decently treated native American wage-earners "class conscious" are not due altogether to the influence of "free land," or the chance of climbing into the employer class. These wage-earners have been so well socialized as "Americans" that it is not easy to persuade them to think of themselves as exploited proletarians. Contrary to the socialist assumption, they *do* have much in common with their *bourgeois* fellow citizens—patriotic memories, aversion to kings and nobles, belief that "a man's a man for a' that," respect for hard work, pride in the spread of American ideas over the world, a certain chivalry

toward women, sentiment for children, affection for the public school, enthusiasm for baseball, and scores of other things. Moreover, manners in America are genial and democratic. The wage-earners have not been discriminated against politically. They are not despised as laborers are in societies with feudal traditions. Organization saves them from having to "knuckle down" in every dispute between them and the employer. Thanks to free public education the children of the workingman may be found at any social level. Hence only those native wage-earners take freely to syndicalism who in remote mining camps, or lumber camps, or as homeless, womanless, voteless, floating laborers, come into contact with the ugliest side of private capitalism.

THE EXPANDED SELF

Socialization may be figured as an expansion of the self to take in other persons and their interests. Now, there are various axes along which the self may expand. There is the *spheric* self which incorporates persons chiefly according to their propinquity, i.e., the neighbors. Until lately this was the prevailing type; but reading, travel, city life, the rise of the professions, and social stratification are unfavorable to it. It is the basis of neighborhood consciousness, community coöperation, and local self-government.

Then there is the *linear* self, which keeps to the family line, ranging back among one's forbears and forward among one's anticipated descendants. It prompts a man to sacrifice much in order not to dishonor his forefathers or handicap his posterity. It nourishes a character which wins respect but not love. This concern with the dead and the unborn detracts from sympathy with one's fellows—save blood kin—so that *family feeling* is often a rival of *social feeling*. Democracy distrusts such loyalty to family, because it has been stressed by its traditional enemies, kings and nobles.

The *flat* self results from the confinement of social feeling to those within one's stratum. This self excludes those lower in the social scale as beings of coarser clay. Although those above are admired and envied, the *we*-feeling does not extend to them because they are "different" and, moreover, they look down on one. This horizontal socialization weakens the barriers between neighborhoods, parishes, and provinces but, on the whole, it creates more ill-will than it removes. Hostile local communities can avoid trouble by having little to do with one another, but hostile social classes cannot avoid contacts and relations.

The *vein* self expands along a vein of folk who are like us or have

the same major interest. In big democratic cities fellowship tends to follow occupational lines, steamfitter consorting with steamfitters, newspaper man with newspaper men, the artist in Bohemia with other Bohemians. Those not in love with their calling may follow a slender vein of interest, so that they are brotherly only with a special group—baseball fans, spiritualists, Y. M. C. A. men, Browning enthusiasts, or Marxian socialists.

The developed personality ought to have strong tastes and interests which bring it into sympathy with several veins of people. Hence the *star* self which radiates into various planes. The many-sided Roosevelt was linked up with Harvard men, boxers, big game hunters, bird observers, history writers, explorers, saga lovers, and civic reformers, in each case by one of his interests.

There is room in society for all types of the expanded self, but certain types are more desirable from the standpoint of social good will and teamwork. On the one hand, the functional differentiation and complexity of modern society are favorable to the development of the *star* self. On the other hand, the great number of matters calling for teamwork by the organized local community put a premium on the citizen with a *spheric* self. The development or combination of these two holds the most promise for the future.

OBSTACLES TO SOCIALIZATION

The perception of difference in aspect, ways, beliefs, and sentiments checks the outflow of sympathy. With the rude, personal appearance and dietary habits count for much. One stigmatizes the objects of his antipathy as “niggers,” “greasers,” “round heads,” “fuzzy-wuzzies,” “red necks,” “high brows,” “red-haired foreign devils,” “silk stockings,” “hard collars,” or taunts them as “rat-eaters,” or “frog-eaters.” Somewhat higher is the type who thinks of the alien as “mick,” “parley-voo,” “goddam,” “wop,” “sheeny,” “heathen,” “papist,” “heretic,” or “infidel.” Higher yet is the man who is struck by cultural differences only and who recoils from those who are “savage,” “barbarous,” “benighted,” or “depraved.” The most alienating differences are those in diet, manners, and religious exercises. Socializers, therefore, by education, agitation, organization, change of customs, etc., strive to bring about a resemblance along these lines, or else to belittle unlikeness.

Arbitrary discrimination raises a barrier. Discrimination on some relevant basis excites little protest. No one objects that weaklings are not put on the football team, ignoramuses admitted to college, or bun-

glers allowed to practise medicine. But those are embittered who are shut out from merited good on account of color, race, origin, or religion. The detached immigrant into the United States is readily assimilated because America has drawn no line against the foreign-born. Any unreasonable discrimination against him, as, for example, restricting the proportion of foreign-born which may be employed on public work, would check the process. It would produce the state of things formerly seen in Eastern Europe, where the socialization of dissimilar population elements was at a standstill. Hence, no one should be admitted to this country whom we are not willing to treat in time as "one of the family."

Of course, not all discriminations are written into law. If there is a tendency to elect to office or promote to the head of a business or an organization the inferior native-born just because he is of "good old American stock," the capable foreign-born and his friends will feel themselves to be, after all, "outsiders," and will be confirmed in their hyphenism.

A resented imputation of inferiority is a stumbling block to socialization. A "chosen people" will not have many friends among other peoples. A Messianic hope isolates the nation that cherishes it. A race or class is not likely to share the *we*-feeling with another race or class which entertains no doubts as to its own superiority. One reason why athletic games between white men and subordinate races so contribute to good feeling is that they imply equality. The governing race comes down from its "high horse" and takes its chance of being beaten in sport. The Malays of inner Borneo do not resent their being governed by the English, after these English have met them as equals on the football field. Once they have scored off the white man, they will concede his superiority in the matter of government.

Finally, *traditionalism* hinders the socialization of diverse elements when otherwise conditions are favorable. It may be that Irish Catholics and Orangemen, Transcaucasian Armenians and Tartars, Lithuanian coal miners and Polish coal miners, are alike oppressed and ought to feel and act together; but if they are swayed by the past they will stay apart on account of prejudices, hatreds, and memories of ancient wrongs, coming down to them from their forefathers. On the other hand, of course, traditions of friendship and mutual aid may perpetuate good feeling when living currents of interest are bearing people in opposite directions.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is socialization?
2. What lies back of the bond of community of birthplace?
3. Show that intense common emotional experiences socialize people with respect to one another.
4. Why is feasting together a socializing experience?
5. How is the spirit of loyalty generated in boys' gangs?
6. Show the value of the permanent owned home as a support for family feeling.
7. Why does playing together socialize the players?
8. What kinds of plays socialize best the players?
9. Who coined the phrase "consciousness of kind" and what does it mean?
10. Show the relation between group vitality and community of interest.
11. Prove that collision of interest desocializes.
12. Give illustrations of disruptive ideas.
13. What forms may the expanded self assume?
14. What are the chief obstacles to socialization?

EXERCISES

184. Discuss Münsterberg's idea that alcoholic beverages by loosening temporarily the inhibitions which rule our daily lives, release the instinctive and social self and thus promote good fellowship.
185. What from your own experience confirms the proposition, "Sport is a socializer"?
186. Illustrate from your own observation the proposition, "Group life is a socializer."
187. Compare sport with education as a means of socializing Americans and Porto Ricans with reference to one another.
188. In the coming together of neighborhood people at a social center, which will contribute more to produce the *we*-feeling—the discovery of unnoticed resemblances or the discovery of new common interests?
189. Should the parent strive to attach his child from its early years to his religion, or should he allow the child later on to face the religious problem independently and to choose in freedom?
190. There are two rival theories as to the production of civic spirit in a city. (1) that it develops in proportion to the *common possessions* of the citizens, e.g., parks, playgrounds, schools, filtration plant, lighting plant, bacteriological laboratory, bathing beaches, etc.; (2) that it develops in proportion to the *common efforts* of the citizens, e.g., to win the state capital, overthrow boodlers, or down malaria. Give your view and reasons therefor.

CHAPTER XXIX

ESTRANGEMENT

HOWEVER solidified the group, one can never be sure that the current of events will not carry it upon some rock which will split it. Families are rent by quarrels, neighborhoods by feuds, churches by controversies; while larger unions, lacking personal acquaintance, are yet more unstable. So it is necessary to take into account a process, quite the reverse of socialization, which may be called *estrangement*. Ties are strained or even snapped because a cross-current pulls one part of the group away from the other. Change is inevitable, and, although some changes solidify, others tend to cleave the group. For all that intercourse, common experience, and common reading matter may be making a people into one big family, there is no assurance that a sharp turn in industrial development or a strange doctrine will not set them at loggerheads.

GROWTH OF OPPOSITION OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS

The growth of sectionalism during the half-century before the American Civil War illustrates how a new economic tendency may thrust people apart. After the invention of the cotton gin the South more and more went over to cotton, a slave-made crop. In the North slave labor was less productive than free labor, so that slavery died out. Thus "King Cotton" laid the foundation for the strife between North and South.

The practice of extracting gold by washing down low-pay dirt with a jet of water under high pressure so clogged certain California river beds as to cause the rivers to overflow and smother rich bottom lands under a mantle of silt. The feeling between the ranchers of the valley and the miners of the foothills became very bitter before the legislature of the state put a curb on hydraulic mining.

Much of the early political history of certain Australian colonies is made up of the struggles between "squatters" and "selectors." The former had seized upon great tracts of public land and insisted upon

using them for grazing while thousands of landless men were clamoring to settle on this land and farm it.

There is, indeed, no end of ways in which a new economic slant may breed strife. A pastoral people falls asunder because the men of the plain take to the plow and the men of the shore to shipbuilding and trade, while the hill folk continue to guard their flocks. In republican Rome slaves, the booty of foreign conquest, thrust a wedge between the large landowners and the small cultivators. The English Black Death of 1349 fired a train which is said to have led to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. The issuance of paper money, a natural makeshift in a young community, long vexed the peace of the American colonies. The Constitution laid the specter for three-quarters of a century only to see it reappear as the "greenback" question. The federal tax of 1791 on distilled spirits provoked a revolt among people west of the Alleghany Mountains, who had been accustomed to convert their corn into whiskey in order to carry it to a distant market.

The possibilities of trouble mock the foresight of statesmen. Government action to stamp out a popular vice may exasperate a district devoted to breeding race horses or to growing the vine or the poppy. A new industry or a chance to build up an export trade may make one region restive under a tax or a trade policy acceptable to all the rest. The people of our Atlantic Coast may resent the obstacles to trade with the Orient raised by an immigration policy demanded by the people of the Pacific Coast. In California, with the rise of fruit-growing, there broke out a great agitation by orchardists against the general property tax, under which they had to pay taxes on their fruit trees for some years before they came into bearing.

LOSS OF LIKE-MINDEDNESS

The soul-molds of a people may so change that the types they turn out chafe one another. The commercial regions become critical and progressive, while the rural parts cherish old dynastic loyalties. The town artisans become free-thinking, while the peasants remain devout. As cities grow an urban type develops having little in common with farmers. Mining the precious metals fosters a restless speculative spirit that goes ill with the home-loving conservative spirit bred by agriculture. Machine industry gathers myriads into its grasp and sets its stamp upon them. Mixing of bloods brings race clash nearer by multiplying the number of mulattoes and near-whites to whom the "color line" is intolerable.

Unequal appropriation of culture weakens fellow-feeling. Thanks to foreign influences, the residents of the coast become cosmopolitan, while the people of the interior stick to the "good old ways" and resent what they deem the apostasy of the ports. From the Book of Maccabees one may divine what strifes were produced by the penetration of Hellenism into the peoples about the Eastern Mediterranean during the century after Alexander the Great. Since Peter the Great Russia has swung like a pendulum between the party standing for imitation of Europe and the party standing for Muscovite tradition. The Chinese in contact with foreigners want to introduce railroads, sanitation, and girls' schools, which the back country regards as impious. Stalled in the eighteenth century, the isolated people of our Appalachians imagine our cities to be sinks of wickedness, while our cities look upon these old-fashioned mountaineers as degenerates.

RELIGIOUS SCHISMS

Like-mindedness is ruptured also by currents of religious thought. The ancient Jews were torn by the discord between Pharisees and Sadducees. After Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire schisms and heresies gave trouble. Africa was convulsed by the Donatist movement; Egypt was dissatisfied owing to Monophysitism and, no doubt, for this gave herself the more readily to the Arab conquerors. The persecuted Montanist sectaries of Phrygia revolted in the sixth century. In the eighth century the Christians of the East were rent by the quarrel over the use of images, and the migration of fifty thousand Greek image-worshipers to Southern Italy gave that region a Hellenic stamp which it has not yet lost. Later, Latin and Greek Christianity went asunder and entered upon divergent paths of development. The rise of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, coupled with the repressive policy of the Church, plunged Europe into civil strife and gave birth to the bloody "wars of religion." Since Galileo the contradictions between dogma and science have produced countless estrangements. Nor should one overlook the disturbances following the rise of such sects as the Anabaptists, the Mormons, the Babists, the Taipings, the Boxers, the Mahdists, and the Senussites.

NEW DOCTRINES SPLIT SOCIETY

In South America to-day we see bitter controversies engendered by the introduction of ideas of religious liberty, separation of church and state, public education, civil marriage, and divorce. A century ago the

propagation of anti-slavery doctrines among us aroused much hatred and hostility. From time to time we have been rent by angry disputes over vaccination, woman's rights, faith-healing, Darwinism, "higher" Biblical criticism, land-value taxation, and liquor regulation. At present such doctrines as the right of labor to the whole produce, workers' control over industry, class war, "direct action," the single standard of morals for both sexes, birth control, and the sterilization of the unfit lead to sharp dissension and even to violence. By the time these have entered a milder phase new questions will have drifted into the spotlight.

SOCIAL COST OF ESTRANGEMENT

The fermentation set up by the spread of new knowledge or of ideas based thereon is inevitable if there is to be progress in culture. But how rarely we see a clean fight between truth and error! How often conflict is between systems of ideas equally arbitrary! Indeed, it is the clash of ideas farthest from a fact basis which rouses most animosity. Now, when controversies reach the pitch of alienating fellow-citizens, the consequences may be serious. Migration, secession, or civil war is possible, and, in any case, there is less good will and readiness to work together. National defense may be fatally weakened, government thwarted in carrying out essential policies, aptitude for civic and social coöperation lost. Friendly intercourse may die out, while clan-nishness and sectarianism grow until the people are divided by walls which are no less real for being invisible.

HOW TO DEAL WITH ECONOMIC OPPOSITIONS

In general, since there is no trouble in locating the sore spot, the oppositions of interest created by economic development are the easier to deal with. Sometimes what is needed is to extend government authority into a neglected field. The deadly struggle in frontier society between "moderators" and "regulators," after the latter have become infested by rogues who take private vengeance under the guise of lynch law, ceases with the establishment of regular courts. If cowboys and shepherds of the Far West fight over the use of the natural pastures in the public domain, a leasing system is called for. The conflicts between cattlemen, who without warrant had fenced great tracts of government land, and settlers asserting their rights under the Homestead Law ended when President Roosevelt made the fences come down. Gun law among the salmon-canners on Alaskan rivers is ended by devising wise rules enforced by government agents on the spot. Hostili-

ties between workingmen and mine guards ought to cease with the advent of a well-managed state police. Sniping between the oyster tongers of Chesapeake Bay calls for a system of leasing of bay bottom for oyster-growing. Bad blood between employers and wage-earners is a challenge to the lawmaker to remedy such glaring evils as the long work day, seven-day labor, preventable industrial accidents and diseases, underpayment, and unemployment.

A lasting sense of grievance in any worthy element respecting an established policy raises like a fester in the flesh the presumption that something is wrong. The useful classes do not riot over nothing; so relying upon bayonets to restore social peace is usually a confession of bankruptcy of statesmanship. This is not to say that every aggrieved interest can be given just the redress it demands. It may ask for the wrong remedy, or it may have flung itself directly across the path of the advancing general interest. But ordinarily a persistent outcry is a symptom of maladjustment. Change has gone on unheeded until some law or institution has ceased to fit. Finer adjustment, greater elasticity, or special treatment is called for. The complaint of timber-owners that the annual taxation of their trees compels premature cutting suggests a tax collected only when the timber is harvested. Labor's protest against the importation of shiploads of aliens for strike-breaking purposes justifies the exclusion of alien contract laborers. Legal distinctions between Quakers and others in respect to bearing arms and taking oaths, between "labor" and "commodity," between ordinary businesses and those "affected with a public interest," and between "reasonable" and "unreasonable" restraint of trade illustrate how the law has been differentiated for the sake of social good feeling.

Whenever laws and policies do not admit of being made flexible enough to suit growing regional and local peculiarities, the time has come for a devolution of certain powers of government. The unitary state should become federal. Colonies and distinct geographic provinces should be conceded a sphere of "home rule," while local preferences respecting schools, poor-relief, taxing system, and liquor regulation may justify the grant of county option or local option.

HOW TO DEAL WITH OPPOSITION OF BELIEFS OR IDEAS

Long ago statesmen came to value like-mindedness and sought to conserve it by certain policies which experience has shown to be futile or even pernicious. Excluding the alien, restraining travel abroad, and

avoiding foreign intercourse succeeded for a time in ancient Sparta and in Japan, but much good was missed and adjustment, when it came, was the more violent from having been delayed. The suppression of free inquiry protects religious unity only by impeding intellectual progress. An established state religion, secure in its endowments, is likely to lose much of that appealing warmth and life which make it a social bond. The relentless persecution of heresy fomenters internal strife and weakens the race by extirpating the more daring and original minds.

It seems a paradox to urge total separation of church and state, religious liberty, and freedom of communication as preservative of social good feeling. But, in truth, the variety of opinion which springs up under freedom begets a minimum of hostility. Disagreements irritate little so long as the bigot is not allowed to climb into the saddle. No privileged orthodox may glower upon another as a heretic. None is embittered by being discriminated against or persecuted. No one is galled by being forced to contribute to the propagation of a creed he does not believe. Contradictions are softened by a spirit of tolerance, so that, after all, mental heterogeneity proves to be a nettle that stings least that hand that grasps it brusquely.

Still, diversity of opinion *does* interfere with social teamwork. Sectaries are often clannish, slow to mingle socially with outsiders or to join with their neighbors in the furtherance of such common interests as public health, community development, education, or the advancement of secular knowledge. In the American population there have been thousands of local groups sewed up in separatist dogmas and dead to most of the feelings which thrill the rest of society. Cooperation has been checked by the rise of numerous "peculiar" religious sects, each cut off from the general population by its fancied possession of a special prophet or revelation and its assurance of being the exclusive object of Divine favor.

A self-conscious society will therefore endeavor to limit sect-forming by providing for the *widest possible diffusion of secular knowledge*. An unlettered and ignorant people, if it escapes the guidance of ancestral churches and trained ministers, is likely to be endlessly divided and redivided by futile variations of creed and worship. On the other hand, the general enlightenment resulting from a system of universal education narrows the power of the fanatic or the false prophet to gain a following. The public university, moreover, rears up a type of leader

who will draw men together with unifying thoughts, instead of dividing them, as does the sect-founder, with his private imaginings and personal notions.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why can there be no fixed and final socialization?
2. What was thrusting apart North and South during the half century before the Civil War?
3. How do discordant types develop in society?
4. Show how estrangement may occur in consequence of unequal appropriation of culture.
5. How can economic oppositions developing in society be overcome?
6. Show that laws and policies have to be differentiated in order to take care of differentiated interests.
7. How can the granting of "home rule" preserve the social peace?
8. Why is it unwise to protect like-mindedness by preventing foreign intercourse?

EXERCISES

191. What influences are holding the people of the Pacific Slope away from the rest of the nation? Which of these influences are getting stronger? Which weaker?
192. What influences are pushing city and country apart and what influences are pulling them together?
193. Why is religion to-day less separative than it was in the colonial period? Are people's feelings about religion less intense? Or have they arrived at a different idea of it?
194. What might be done by a competent mayor or governor to prevent the development of trouble between whites and negroes, i.e., "race riots" and "race wars"?
195. Show the value of the institutions of free speech, free press, and free assemblage in hindering estrangement.

CHAPTER XXX

SOCIAL CONTROL

UNLESS he has arrived at moral notions of his own, the socialized member of a group willingly molds his conduct to the ideas of individual rights and duties held by his fellow-members. Unfortunately society is by no means composed wholly of socialized persons. People may be neighbors or work-mates long before they are sufficiently socialized to live in peace or to act together for the protection of their common interests. Even if most of them have good will toward one another, there will be selfish or malicious individuals who will cause trouble if they are not in some way intimidated or influenced.

Although a rude order may come of itself, the far-sighted members of the community perceive that a better order and a smoother teamwork may be had if only certain troublesome varieties of conduct are suppressed while other helpful varieties are called forth. Often the means for such suppression lie at hand in the shape of central organs which may have been created for the purpose of military coöperation, but which can be used for setting up a régime of law. Then, too, religious ideas may be present which lend themselves to the building of a system of control backed by supernatural rewards and punishments. Thus society develops an apparatus of control designed to repress undesired conduct and to encourage desired conduct. How far it shall be elaborated depends on the felt need of controlling the behavior of the individual.

THE NEED OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Coöperation in vital matters for the benefit of the group as a whole gives occasion for the exercise of social control. On the American frontier the earliest sign of it is community pressure to make shirkers do their part in curbing the Indians, fighting prairie fires, or rearing levees to protect the river bottoms. When coöperation is complex, even willing coöperators need an authority over them which will regulate the times, places, and amounts of their individual performances. This is why *warfare*, in which good teamwork may be a matter of

life and death, is the mother of obedience. Even headstrong barbarians will submit themselves to iron discipline while on the war path.

High organization implies a regulative system. Without it the leakage and waste on the one hand, the friction from the checks and safeguards required to prevent such loss on the other hand, make it unprofitable to set up any kind of complicated social machinery.

The institutions of *private property*, *contract*, and *inheritance* consecrate inequalities of possession which mere good will will not protect, and which can survive only in a more or less artificial social order. It is *property institutions* which call into being detailed codes of law, strong courts, and an elaborate penal system.

City residence calls for stricter social control. In the care of his sick, in the making of unnecessary noise, in the burning of soft coal, in the doing of work at home, or in the keeping of domestic animals in his domicile, the city-dweller is not free to anything like the extent one is in the country.

Capital demands agencies strong enough to insure order and security. In the Tropics, for example, the ease of rearing a shelter is such that the common people are in no great dread of civil strife. In a political contest they are by no means slow to take up arms. But the creation of costly forms of capital which can be destroyed in a few hours by bullet or ax or torch—herds of fine stock, cane-fields, sugar mills, orange groves, cacao orchards, rubber plantations—puts an immense financial interest against the time-honored practice of "fighting it out" and behind a government which appears strong enough to insure order although it may deprive the masses of their political rights.

In countries which have to reckon seriously with *winter*, the rural buildings are so substantial and costly that the tillers of the soil are at one with the large capitalists in desiring order at all hazards. In the temperate zone, therefore, the capitalists are not the foes of popular government as they are in the Tropics.

In *capitalistic mining* interruption of labor may cause irreparable damage from flooding of the mines, while a single lawless hour may sweep away costly surface properties. Hence, as in Colorado and Montana, the mine operators make common cause with the farmers in maintaining *strong* government, or by secret control of nominating machinery and elections make local self-government a mockery. To avoid shut-downs, high-handed methods are used with intruding labor agitators and organizers, while occupants of the company "mining camp" are denied free speech, free press, and free assemblage.

In 1905 the mass of capital working with each employee engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements in the United States was *eight times* what it was in 1850. In all branches of industry *the capital factor grew faster than the labor factor*. As a result the capitalists have more at stake in an industrial dispute. The more they stand to lose by a strike, the readier they are to break that strike by tempting strike-breakers with high pay, by hiring gunmen and creating conditions which draw in sheriff's deputies, police, or troops. The strikers, on the other hand, do their utmost to keep the plant from operating. Thus, more and more industrial strife takes on a violent character, becomes private war. Hence an augmenting of the state's power in order to hold the parties to the strife within bounds.

Discoveries of the far reaction of particular actions broaden continually the scope of social control. From the germ theory of disease spring requirements that we shall cover up a cough or sneeze, avoid spitting, and submit to quarantine. New light on heredity causes us to be blamed for having children if our stock is bad and for *not* having children if our stock is superior. Knowledge of the law of population gives birth to the feeling that the father of fifteen children ought to justify himself. New views of natural resources condemn certain wasteful methods of mining, lumbering, and tillage, restrain us in the killing of fish and game, and oblige us to treat any forest tract we own from the standpoint of social welfare.

Not that it is the fate of the individual to be caught in an ever-finer mesh of regulation. Along with the latter-day extension of control has occurred in various parts of the world a relaxation of many traditional restraints which, pretending to safeguard social interests, were really imposed in the interest of a class, or from sheer love of dominating. Such were the old game laws, restrictions on working-class freedom of movement and of settlement, the old, inhumane discipline of army and fleet, restraints on speech, teaching, the press, assemblage and organization. So binding and loosing are going on at the same time and it is not easy to strike a balance between them.

THE MOTIVES BEHIND SOCIAL CONTROL

Organic sentiments make themselves felt in the social reaction to offenses against nature—such an incest, prostitution, and abortion. The social frown is bent on senseless luxury and wilful waste because they outrage the common man's instincts of economy and thrift. Sympathy prompts the punishment of cruelty to animals and the suppres-

sion of infanticide. Sympathy with the affronted divinity leads to social repression of profanity, blasphemy, and sacrilege. Sympathy with the feelings of the victim of wrong yields that "moral indignation" which impels the community to block aggressions which do not directly concern it. After allowing for the action of *collective sentiment* it remains true, however, that *self-interest* is the chief motive behind social control. Society frowns on conduct which appears to hurt it; smiles on conduct which appears to help it. Sometimes it is a disinterested bystander trying to prevent A wronging B; but generally it is an interested party striking at acts which it deems noxious to itself.

THE RADIANT POINTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The power behind moral and legal codes may be virtually the whole power of society, and yet be directed by that element which, for the time, being, enjoys general confidence. Whether social power will thus be wielded from a center or centers depends on *whether or not men feel themselves dependent*. In early society the seat of authority is the Elders. In a disorderly time the hind creeps under the castle wall, the trembling burgher pours out his florins for protection and the Soldier strikes the dominant note. To the degree that men connect their fate with the good-will or the ill-will of unseen things they come to depend greatly on the Priesthood. Men depend economically upon those who buy their wares or their labor, and hence the Wealthy have always enjoyed great influence. The State is supposed to be a *channel*, and not a *source*, of control; but the paternal state may render its citizens so many vital services that it gains glamour and becomes a center of social power.

Another radiant point in society is the Learned class, such as the *literati* of China, the pundits of India, the clergy of non-sacerdotal bodies, and the rabbis of the Jews. Finally, there is the *élite*, who are the natural leaders of society, in virtue of their intellectual and moral superiority. The Greek philosophers, the Stoics, the Christian Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Humanists, the Pietists, the Liberals, are examples of a small active element able to leaven the whole lump.

The tenor of social control will reflect its source. When the Elders have the say, much will be made of filial obedience, while parricide will be punished with torture. The Priests color social codes with their own high esteem of celibacy, devoutness and unquestioning belief. Soldier ascendancy shifts the accent to obedience, loyalty and valor. When the moneyed man holds the baton, we hear much of such virtues

as honesty, sobriety and thrift. The *élite* aim to control men by *ideals* rather than by *punishment* and stand for *reason* rather than a slavish following of *custom*.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Some of the instruments society employs bear upon the *will*; others, upon the *feelings*; still others, upon the *judgment*. In the first group are *Social Suggestion*, *Custom* and *Education*, which use direct means to give the will a certain bent, and *Public Opinion*, *Law* and *Religious Belief*, which employ punishments and rewards. In the second group are *Social*, *Religion*, *Personal Ideals*, *Ceremony*, *Art* and *Personality*. In the third group *Enlightenment*, *Illusion* and *Social Valuation*.

Public Opinion is the germ out of which the various agencies of social control have grown. Out of the mobbing by the enraged public develop on the one side the measured and graduated penalties of *law* and *legal religion*; on the other, the guidance of the individual by such refined means as *education*, *personal ideals*, and *social valuations*. All of these hit the mark better than *public opinion*, which reflects the short-sightedness and impulsiveness of the mass. It strikes furiously at vivisection but is limp before bribery, adulteration, and monopoly. The thoughtful penalize speculation, ballot-frauds, and the neglect of fires in forests while the foolish public is gnashing its teeth at vaccinators and body-snatchers. Unless directed by the wise, public opinion is a poor cuirass for protecting the vitals of society.

The religious and legal codes are far more intelligent than public opinion. Religion mounts guard over the fundamentals which do not appeal immediately to the feelings of the public, such as chastity, marriage, filial obedience, and property. But, owing to the worshiper's indignation at any slight to his divinity, the religious code hits at many things which are not anti-social, e.g., swearing, Sabbath-breaking and impiety. The law is the least sentimental of controls because it is shaped by picked men, i.e., judges and lawmakers. It is so progressive that it strikes at conduct which is not yet condemned by the public. It makes using a bakery for sleeping purposes or soliciting divorce business by advertisement a *crime* before it has become either a *wrong* or a *sin*.

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY IN SOCIAL CONTROL

In building social order the means of restraint which first suggests itself is the infliction of pain. Public opinion makes itself respected

by derision and boycott, the law by cell and noose, religious prohibitions by hell-fire. But the rod is cruel to the offender and often distressing to the punisher. So sages have cast about for methods of control which painlessly mold the individual to social requirement. One of these is education. One teaches the young what conduct to admire and what to despise; or else builds into the plastic mind some moral cornerstone, e.g., the fear of God, reverence for the law, respect for magistrates, belief in the coincidence of virtue and happiness or in the harmony of private and public interests.

Another refined means of curbing the will is the personal ideal. We try to be like the type we admire, for otherwise we cannot respect ourselves. The wise take advantage of this by seeing to it that the type shall be social. Mark how the knightly ideal was transmuted into the "gentleman" ideal. In the tenth century the admired knight was an armed bull-necked ruffian on horseback. Gradually the troubadours and women got these hard hitters to incorporate into their ideal, courtesy, loyalty, self-control, consideration for the weak, and faith-keeping. Then this ideal was separated, first from the profession of arms, and then from hereditary leisure. The type was popularized by drama, poetry and novel until now the ordinary American will strike you if you tell him he is "no gentleman." In the same way the "lady," once mistress of the castle, has become the ideal of at least half the women in our society.

Again, society endorses and recommends social valuations, i.e., the rating of the objects of desire from the group point of view rather than the individual point of view. Pleasures which are exclusive or collision-provoking, such as those of the palate or of sex, are constantly depreciated. Then society "appreciates" the safe pleasures—those which, like companionship or sport, are *coöperative*; those, like the enjoyment of Nature, music, or art, which are *inexclusive*; those, like health or beauty or humor or knowledge, which can be *expanded without clash with others*; and those which, being *ideal*, do not wastefully consume strength.

IRON OR SILKEN SOCIAL CONTROL

At one time let us say one man out of two respects the rights of others only from fear of punishment. Two centuries later, when literacy is universal and nearly all understand the wherefore of social requirements, perhaps only one out of five has his eye on the rod of justice. In a democratic society in which self-respect is general it may

be that not more than one in ten covets unfair advantage. When all the youth of every generation shall have received a socialized education, we may find ourselves so far advanced that only the one in a hundred who is mentally defective will need to be restrained by fear of penalty.

It does not follow, however, that criminal law is destined to take an insignificant place among the supports of social order. If the one rascal among twenty men might aggress at will, the higher forms of control would break down, confidence in fair play would disappear and man after man would abandon the honest majority. The deadly contagion of lawlessness would spread with growing rapidity till social order lay in ruins. The law, therefore, is still the cornerstone of the edifice of order.

SUPER-SOCIAL CONTROL

If ideals, valuations, and the rest are foisted upon society by some scheming group, then society, much as it may control its individual members, is itself controlled. This we may call *super-social control*. There is no better example of it than the deliberate molding of German education, ideals, and public opinion for thirty years before the World War by an influential group headed by the Kaiser which had determined to use the German people in a vast design of aggression and conquest. In view of the catastrophe which it brought on the world, we have to consider how super-social control may best be guarded against.

The problem is to keep the social mind in its various phases distinct from the organization of power. Charged with new functions the state becomes continually more massive. It enrolls more servants, claims more of our income, touches our lives at more points. More than ever it needs to be effectively controlled by the people; otherwise it will obey the will of a class or follow its own bent like a runaway train.

If government is not to control the people as the German Imperial Government did, but is to be controlled by them, it should have no hand in the processes whereby the people make up their minds about it. It should not manufacture sentiment for itself nor meddle with the incubation of public opinion. It should not warp young minds by a tendentious education, nor distort the judgment of its citizens by veiled propaganda, nor secretly manipulate the guides and oracles of public opinion, nor gag critics on the ground that criticism obstructs its operations.

The people will be managed without their knowing it unless there are numerous founts of authoritative opinion independent of one another and of any single powerful organization. Let there be many

towers from which trusty watchmen may scan the horizon and cry to the people a warning which no official or mob may hush.

The government should not maintain a "reptile press," such as Bismarck used, nor should it censor the newspapers save in war time, and then only by a board on which private citizens preponderate. Public officials should give out impartially the news of their offices. Neither editors nor owners should be appointed to high posts in the public service lest newspapers fall into the habit of truckling to politicians. No periodical should be denied news service or forced off the news stands on account of its politics.

The school, as mother or molder of opinion, should be independent of government. By means of a non-partisan board the public schools as well as the state university should be kept out of politics. If appointed by mayor or governor, the members should enjoy security of tenure. But it is more logical that the board of education should be chosen at a separate election under a system of proportional representation. Instead of having to beg funds from a political body like the city council or the state legislature, it should be clothed with the power to levy a tax to support the schools. Now that the state is gathering mass and momentum, the school should stand wholly on its own bottom, lest the state tamper with the holy functions of enlightenment, character-molding and opinion-forming.

As we expand government in order to save ourselves from the clutches of the greedy strong, freedom of speech and of assemblage should more than ever be jealously upheld. We should no more allow an organization to rent all the halls in town during a critical time in order to prevent public meetings than we would allow a spiteful man to keep a street car empty by paying fares for all the seats in it. Open-air places should be provided at public expense in all municipalities for free public discussion on condition only that speakers shall not utter obscenity, slanderously attack individuals, or incite to definite crimes. The evening use, under such reservations, of public school buildings by an open association of citizens of the school district should not be gain-said. Perhaps the time will come when every community will have its social forum, available for any discussion for which a certain proportion of the citizens stand sponsor.

Formal public recognition of exemplary service gives direction to individual ambition. Hence, if the state monopolizes the granting of honors, it will stimulate the development of the type of character and conduct which serves its interests. Recognition is, indeed, too great a

moral power to be left to any single institution. The state's right to confer title, certificate, medal, decoration, or honorary degree should therefore be shared with various responsible independent agencies, such as colleges, institutes, libraries, and societies. This affords guarantee that all the chief kinds of extraordinary social service will be noted and distinguished.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show how the development of capital necessitates a firmer social control.
2. Why does strong government develop in a mining state?
3. What is extending social control?
4. What are the motives behind social control?
5. Name the elements in society from which social control radiates.
6. Show that the tenor of social control reflects its source.
7. What are the least costly and galling means of social control?
8. Why should government abstain from trying to mold opinion about itself or its functions?
9. How may the School be made independent of the State?
10. What may be done to insure freedom of speech and assemblage?
11. How may the public recognition of exemplary social service be decentralized?

EXERCISES

196. What is your idea of the difference between socialization and social control?
197. What are outstanding traits of the personal ideal, "the good sportsman"?
198. Why is it that no religion has ever held up this "sportsman" ideal?
199. What anti-crime policy promises the most results for the next year? for the next decade? for the next generation? for the next century?
200. Should the high school teacher of history, civics, or economics be free to use his own judgment as to choice of text and method of presenting his subject; or should these matters be settled for him by higher educational authorities? If the latter, should it be the local board of education or a state authority?
201. Should the county superintendent of schools be elected by the people or chosen by a county board of education elected by the people?
202. What is the objection to a state department—forestry bureau, pure food commission, or agricultural college—circulating a monthly bulletin truthfully setting forth its achievements and its needs?
203. Is there any objection to forestry associations or consumers' societies or alumni of the agricultural college circulating this matter at their own expense?
204. Should censorship of motion films be voluntary and non-official, or obligatory and official? If the latter, should the censoring authority be city, state, or national? Reasons.

CHAPTER XXXI

LIBERATION

UNDER favoring conditions the grip of a social organization upon its members relaxes and we witness a process which may be termed *liberation*.

THE LIBERAL FAMILY

The early Roman father could work his children as he chose and neglect their education as he would. He had the power of life and death over them, and they had no property rights he was bound to respect. This patriarchal authority was based, not only on the religion of ancestor worship, but as well on a fanciful idea of inheritance. It was long supposed that children inherited their qualities only from their father, the mother's body being but a seed plot which nourished the paternal germ. We now know that the mother's contribution is not less than the father's, and that the proverb "Like father, like son" errs in ignoring inheritance from the mother. Furthermore, the meeting in the child of two distinct lines of heredity makes it certain that he cannot be a copy of either parent. He has, indeed, much closer kinship with his full brother or sister than with his parent.

Science thus vindicates the uniqueness of the child and shows it to be absurd and unjust that the son should inherit the father's honor or infamy. Why should this being, so distinct, starve because his parents neglect him, slave because a drunken father would exploit him, famish for knowledge because his parents care nothing for it, be punished for his father's misdeeds, or lie under a stigma because his father did not marry his mother? Wherefore should his father's calling, religion, allegiance, or citizenship descend automatically to him? This conception that children do not "belong to" their parents underlies the laws passed by most American states which make it a crime for the parent to desert, wilfully neglect, or contribute to the delinquency of, the child.

The individualistic thought of the eighteenth century not only inspired ideas as to the rights of children which made family discipline more gentle, but it also prompted the state to limit a man's right to will his property away from his children or to leave it all to one child. The

growing freedom in the use of the inheritance tax betrays a new attitude toward the family. The state deems it not good for young people to be endowed for life and resorts to a progressive taxation which will end by obliging the children of the wealthy to take life standing up instead of lying down.

Industrialism is another force hostile to the unity of the family. On the farm the members of the family are busy with the same task, so that in some degree they are knit together by their work. The members of the typical city family, on the other hand, scatter after breakfast to their diverse "jobs." Father is an iron-molder, Jim drives a dray, Sarah teaches school, Jessie is cash girl in a department store, while Harry is office boy to a doctor. They are borne asunder by different tasks, interests, contacts, and circles of friends. So far as this family holds the loyalty of its members, it does so in spite of their diversity of work.

Just as the breakdown of the false theory of heredity sets the child free, so the discrediting of the false theory of male superiority releases the wife. In early Rome the wife was in her husband's hand. In the eye of the law she was not a "person" and could not control property. Her husband had the legal right to chastise her, to judge her if she were accused of a serious offense, and to kill her if guilty of adultery.

Even in the English colonies in America the married woman was controlled in both person and property by her husband. Her property—save that "settled" upon her—became his absolute property. Even her clothing and ornaments belonged to him and might be disposed of as he saw fit. The husband, too, was the sole guardian of their children, and he alone had the say as to their education, religious upbringing, choice of occupation, and marriage.

The introduction of machinery, a clearer view of the rôle of the female sex in the life of the race, and the illumination of the historical process by which male domination became established—all these have tended to equalize man and woman in the family. We see this in statutes giving the married woman control of her own property, granting alimony to divorced wives, and preserving very limited rights to husbands in their deceased wives' estates. We see it also in the insistence that in sex conduct the same moral standard shall apply to the one sex as to the other.

"Mothers' pensions" further individualize the married woman by providing that a mother with young children shall not starve or be parted from them because of the death or desertion of the father. The demand for the state endowment of motherhood, of which we hear

more every year, testifies to the growth of the conviction that the fate of one adult individual ought not to be entirely dependent on the will of another.

The individuation of the members of the family has not come solely out of thirst for personal freedom, but partly owing to the transfer of functions from the family to larger social groups. Schooling has been made compulsory and the school takes over such matters as the medical inspection of the children, play leadership, and vocational guidance. School and home are linked by parent-teacher associations. The kindergarten reaches down nearly to the cradle, and neighborhood nurseries are probably not far off. Baby-feeding stations and classes and anti-child-labor laws insure that the children of the poor shall have their chance. The social center competes with the fireside for the child's leisure time. The court of domestic relations assumes functions which in olden time fell to the council of the kin.

The ecclesiastical doctrine that marriage, being a sacrament, is indissoluble, sacrifices the individual to the institution when the demands of the two conflict. The disposition of the modern state to grant divorce for grave cause shows that the happiness of the individual is deemed of importance. The passage of both marriage and divorce from the custody of the church to that of the state causes them to be regarded no longer as mysteries or symbols, but as problems to be settled in the light of reason and experience.

LIBERALIZING EFFECT OF THE MONEY ECONOMY

In the early Middle Ages the relation of the individual to the group was all or nothing. But to-day, thanks to the money economy, people are able to form unions for limited specific purposes. Says Cooley:

In primitive society membership is intimate and exclusive, the individual putting his whole personality into it. But as groups become numerous and complex there comes to be a kind of parcelling out of personal activities into somewhat impersonal functions, with special associates in each function. A person, while as much dependent as ever upon the group system as a whole, grows less and less identified with any one group. His relation becomes selective, each man working out for himself a system of life different from that of any other man, and not embraced in any one set of connections. Personality becomes more and more an organization by itself, distinct from that of any group, and forming itself by a special choice of influences.

We are coming more and more to base our social order upon this

selective association. In accordance with the ideal of equal opportunity, we try to facilitate special personal development in every possible way, holding that it not only does the most for the individual, but enables him to do the most for society. In this way modern society recognizes and fosters individuality as the earlier epochs never thought of doing.

Compare the impersonality of the relations among fellow-stockholders in a modern joint-stock company with the personal nature of the bond among the coöperators of olden time. It was a great stride toward emancipation when the feudal villein commuted his obligation to work so many days a week on his lord's demesne, or to deliver to his lord such-and-such produce of his fields, into a fixed money payment which he might raise as he pleased. No longer was he tied down to a single occupation or to residence in his birthplace.

Among ourselves when the laborer takes part of his pay *in kind*, i.e., in food and lodging, he is not so free as when he gets his pay all in money and lives where he will. The factory girl paid in cash is freer than the domestic who must take such food and lodging as her mistress provides, and this is one reason why she works for less. In England the shop assistants who "live in," i.e., are fed and lodged by their employers, are doubtless more discontented than any mercantile help in the United States. With good reason the worker is loath to take wages in anything but money. Where employers partly pay for service with board or orders on company stores or accommodations in company houses, the employees are restless or else the class of laborers is low. The worst cases of chronic feud between labor and capital are found, not in industrial centers where the "cash nexus" is the sole connection between the two, but in isolated places—the mining camp, the lumber camp, the railroad camp—where labor has no option, but must spend its money with the company.

In the landlord-tenant relation the substitution of cash rental for a share of the crop makes for the freedom of both parties. Often the share-tenant has to accept the landlord as a partner in his undertaking and is not at liberty to farm the land as he will.

THE LIBERAL STATE

The decline of militant activities normally weakens the grasp of the state upon its members. That the individual exists not for himself and his "folks," but for the state, is so revolting to average human nature that it will be accepted only when national teamwork appears to be a

matter of life or death. So long as the state is thought of as primarily for fighting, it is quite logical to put its claims paramount, and to regard the people as just a taxable and soldier-yielding mass. From ancient Sparta to modern Prussia the effect of making warfare the chief business of life is to depress personal dignity and liberty and to exalt obedience, loyalty and patriotism.

On the other hand, with the decline of the predatory habit, the state is thought of as an agency for promoting the happiness of the people *in several*. Centralized coercive rule with consequent subordination of the individual is no longer accepted as necessary. The idea prevails that the citizen's individuality, instead of being sacrificed to government, is to be preserved and defended by it. Justice, i.e., the securing of each in his rights, becomes the touchstone of good government, while the state multiplies means of hygiene, education, and recreation which each may lay hold of or not, as he sees fit.

So long as the state is worked by a dominant element, as an engine of exploitation, it will not be sparing of coercion. But in the degree that the advance of popular sovereignty obliges the state to obey the will of the greater number, it loses its ruthless and arbitrary spirit. Some maintain that democracies are not really liberal in their tendencies and that they sacrifice freedom for equality when the demands of the two conflict. But is this true? Popular governments no doubt resort freely to legislation; but perhaps this is because the great democratic advance has happened to be contemporary with movements for the protection of the public health, the regulation of industry, and the eradication of widespread moral evils. These movements would have made themselves felt in any case, for they have bred as much legislation in autocratic states as in democratic states.

Nevertheless, *pride* is the trait of a ruling class, and for this reason its members resent restrictive laws which workaday people may tolerate. This is why the democratic state may prohibit the sale of liquor, banish habit-forming drugs, safeguard marriage from venereal disease, and subject congenital defectives to custodial care or sterilize them by surgery—measures which the aristocratic state abhors.

LIBERAL RELIGION

Under ancient polytheism "the notion of there being any guilt in erroneous opinion was unknown." Christianity, however, like every other monotheism, regarded gods other than its own as "vanity" and their worship as an insult to the one "true" God. As soon as it had the

strength it stamped out heathenism. As its doctrines crystallized, the idea took root that *heresy* would bring down the wrath of God upon the entire community in which it occurred. Heresy, moreover, was interpreted as difference. It was heresy to be better than the crowd or worse. No more terrible strait-jacket was ever put on. Says Sumner:

There could be no definition of a heretic but one who differed in life and conversation from the masses around him. This might mean strange language, dress, manners, or greater restraint in conduct. Pallor of countenance was a mark of a heretic from the fourth century to the twelfth.

The hounding of heretics which terrorized thinking Europe from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth was abandoned owing chiefly to the decline of belief in collective responsibility for error. The maxim that the private conscience is God's affair and may not be forced by man has removed from the authority of government the whole domain of religious belief and practice. Moreover, the inviolability which gradually has come to attach to religious convictions is visibly extending to other departments of thought and feeling; for it would be strange, indeed, if fools were free to preach the near end of the world or the non-existence of disease while sages were not free to urge eugenics or public ownership. So there appears to be developing an inviolable *freedom of opinion and communication*.

Puritanism with its notion that natural enjoyment ruins one's chances of gaining Heaven long lay like a pall upon American life. In our early days art was condemned on the ground that beauty must be an ally of the devil. To the Quaker poet Whittier statues were but "graven images." No wonder the few sculptors America produced lived abroad if they could! Those who claimed special knowledge of the will of Heaven put a ban on harp and psaltery, and dancing. Perhaps three-fourths of the American people disapproved of actors and acting. Shakespeare was denounced as the "Devil's Bible." "A fatal theater fire in Richmond on the day after Christmas, 1811, in which seventy perished, was looked upon as a merited judgment. A church was built upon the spot, and for seven years no other playhouse was opened in the town. In Massachusetts theatrical performances were forbidden for many years and as late as 1830 playhouses were dark and deserted on Saturday nights. In New York, about 1815, a committee of 'substantial citizens' gathering money for the relief of the poor righteously refused a gift of a hundred dollars because it was offered them by the manager of a theater." People so shied at the word

theater that in the Middle West a generation ago the small town play-house was generally known as "the opera house."

Wrote Miss Martineau:

"The ascetic practice of taking care of one another's morals has gone to such length in Boston as to excite the frequent satire of some of its wisest citizens. When there was talk of attempting to set up Italian opera there, a gentleman observed that it would never do; people would be afraid of the name. 'Oh,' said another, 'call it lectures on music, with illustrations, and everybody will come.'"

"The instinctive craving for amusement without loss of prestige in this world or the next tempted the ingenious Yankee mind to amazing invention and subterfuge. The law against play-acting by professionals, which closed all the theaters of Connecticut just before the year 1800, was evaded by calling their performances 'moral lectures.' Similar efforts by amateurs and school-children were called 'exhibitions,' a name to which they were undoubtedly entitled. Circuses were anathema, but menageries, being educational, were approved by the authorities."

HERO WORSHIP

The liberal movement owes much to a golden vein of imaginative literature which runs back to early saga and epic. In Homeric times, for example, Hellenic adventurers came upon Ægean lands rich in spoils, where a chieftain might sack a city and dower himself and his followers with sudden wealth. Settled splendor beset by unbridled adventure went to the making of a heroic age, with its strong lights and shadows, its seen beauty and its hidden ugliness. Under stable conditions, no doubt, most of these heroes would have ended on the gallows.

Now, early balladry and ritual dance reflected primitive tribal life in which the individual was nothing, the choral band everything. In the saga, however, the hero is everything while the mass is but a shadowy background for his brilliant clear-cut personality. Says Miss Jane Harrison:

"The epic poet is all taken up with what he called *klea andron*, 'glorious deeds of men,' of individual heroes; and what these heroes themselves ardently long and pray for is just this glory, this personal distinction, this deathless fame for their great deeds. When the armies meet it is the leaders who fight in single combat. These glorious heroes are for the most part kings, but not kings in the old sense, not hereditary kings bound to the soil and responsible for its fertility. Rather they are leaders in war and adventure; the homage paid them is a personal devotion for personal character; the leader must win his followers by bravery, he must keep them

by personal generosity. Moreover, heroic wars are oftenest not tribal feuds consequent on tribal raids; more often they arise from personal grievances, personal jealousies; the siege of Troy is undertaken not because the Trojans have raided the cattle of the Achæans, but because a single Trojan, Paris, has carried off Helen, a single Achæan's wife."

Joined by like currents from the heroic age of Celts and Norsemen and from Christian chivalry, this Greek vein inspired a modern glamorous stream of literature glorifying the individual and celebrating the preciousness of self-determination. Taking the nineteenth century alone, consider what Goethe, Shelley, Carlyle, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Mazzini, Victor Hugo, William Morris, Ibsen, and Tolstoi did to make their millions of readers yearn to be free of vain trammels and to develop an accented individuality. Note too the stream of thought which emphasizes the worth of the initiative of the exceptional man, and vindicates his right to be different from other people and to have a pioneer's scope.

CRITICAL THOUGHT

Another emancipative influence has been *critical thought* which, beginning in France about the middle of the eighteenth century, undermined ecclesiasticism and absolutism within a generation, and, in the course of the nineteenth century, summoned every institution and authority to justify itself. The whole social life of the Middle Ages was based on the principle of subordination. Even a century and a half ago Rousseau set at the front of his *Social Contract*, "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains." In religion, morals, philosophy, science, education, government, and economic life "authority" was writ large. For the great mass obedience was the law of life—obedience to the church, the ruler, the lord, the gild, the head of the family. All these claims rested directly or indirectly on religion. God's will was back of them. It was nothing else than the free action of the critical intellect which ripped up this strait-jacket. Once *reason* was accepted as arbiter instead of *tradition*, or *faith*, every kind of authority was called upon to submit its credentials. Every restraint of man upon man was required to show itself to be for the good of the restrained person or of the community. Chief among the critics of authority have been Voltaire, Reimarus, Paine, Jefferson, Strauss, Robert Owen, Spencer, and Tolstoi. Among the great arraigners of institutions stand Rousseau, Godwin, Bentham, Proudhon, Marx, Henry George, Kropotkin, and Nietzsche.

Under the fire of their criticism some old restraints have broken down; others have been softened; still others have been vindicated. Even at the bar of reason is justified the authority of the parent, the teacher, the military officer, the official acting within his powers. But what a clearance there has been, since the fall of the Bastille, of restraint for its own sake, or to give some one the pleasure of mastership, or to enable one human being to use another!

Nor is criticism a spent force. It is hardly twenty years since the state of our jails and almshouses began to receive critical attention, while it is only within the last decade that we are asking ourselves what life in the steel cage is doing to the inmates of our prison cells. Only lately has the justice of persecuting and ostracizing the prostitute become an open question. Long ago Shakespeare observed the urchin "creeping like a snail to school," but it has been only about thirty-five years since a few educators of imagination began to wonder whether children have to be *forced* to study. From this has grown a movement to make school work attractive to children, culminating in the "play school" from which the urchin "creeps like a snail" to his home!

GROWTH OF LIKE-MINDEDNESS

Giddings has shown that in a heterogeneous community the nucleus of organization is always personal leadership, either that which grows out of *fear* or that which grows out of *fascination*. The reason is that men who do not understand each other, who therefore cannot arrive at intellectual agreement, cannot coöperate of their own free initiative but must await a leader who can organize them. The more heterogeneous they are the more certainly will their obedience spring from *fear*, i.e., the leader's rule will be coercive. But as like-mindedness grows among them they obey from common understanding and sympathy and the old fear-inspiring discipline is felt to be out of date.

DIFFUSION OF THE ART OF READING

Two centuries ago, when few but the privileged could read, what hearing would there have been for Tourgenieff's "Memoirs of a Sportsman," Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Dickens' "Oliver Twist," Hugo's "Les Misérables," Tolstoi's "Resurrection," or Hauptmann's "The Weavers"? Now, thanks to the immensity of the harkening public, honest newspapers and humanitarian artists have made the world a vast whispering gallery for the groans of the oppressed and the abused. The dim toiling masses whose lot was hardly more regarded than that of the

beasts of the field have found tongues of outcry and protest. All the dark corners of society are swept by shafts of light; and as the onlooking multitude grows, less and less dare statesmen, courts, police, prison officials, military officers, educational authorities, or captains of industry indulge in tyrannical actions.

This is why Sumner, commenting on the fact that in Wickliffe's time the Bishop of Winchester obtained a handsome rent from the stews of Southwark, can say with truth:

Probably he and his contemporaries thought no harm. Never until the nineteenth century was it in the *mores* of any society to feel that the sacrifice of one human being to the happiness of another was a thing which civil institutions could not tolerate. It could not enter into the minds of men of the fifteenth century that harlots, serfs, and other miserable classes had personal rights which were outraged by the customs and institutions of the time.

GROWTH OF POPULAR INTELLIGENCE

As people see further into the nature of their social relations, willing and cheerful adjustment of self to one's fellows and to the good of the whole largely takes the place of external regulation. When people understand that discipline is a price we pay for the blessings we owe to organization, many of them yield with a right good will an obedience which otherwise would have to be exacted.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show the fallacy of the proverb "Like father, like son."
2. How does industrialism react upon the solidarity of the family?
3. Show that some of the functions of the family are being transferred to other groups and agencies.
4. Show that the money economy makes for limited association.
5. Why does the decline of militant activities loosen the grip of the state upon its members?
6. Do popular governments value individual freedom?
7. Show how freedom of conscience depends on decay of the theory of collective responsibility for heresy.
8. How was hero worship a force for liberation of the individual?
9. How has critical thought set men free?
10. Why is growth in like-mindedness unfavorable to coercion?
11. Effect of the diffusion of the art of reading.

EXERCISES

205. ✓ Show that the greater the volume of restraint imposed on the citizen by society-at-large, the freer he ought to be in respect to communication and association with his fellow-citizens.

206. Show how strong familism or clannishness is a foe of good politics and good government.
207. Should the state be entitled to set aside the will of the parent as to the type of schooling the child shall have?
208. What effect will the conquest of the air have upon the freedom of the individual?
209. Would you want religious ethics to be completely social, i.e., require nothing that is not for the good of one's fellows and forbid nothing that is not hurtful to them?
210. What motive prompted the Calvinist, Scotch Presbyterian, and other Protestant leaders to make Sunday so much more burdensome than it had been under the Roman Catholic Church?
211. How is the perfecting of mental measurement likely to affect popular sovereignty, majority rule, the "fatalism of the multitude," the authority of public opinion?
212. Discuss the statement: "The aim of a (written) constitution is to put a limit to the number of things concerning which a majority-crowd may lord it over the individual."
213. Discuss the contention of Martin, the crowd-psychologist, that the demand for the prohibition of Sunday movies "is for the most part a pure class-crowd phenomenon, designed to enhance the self-feeling and economic interests of the 'reformers' by keeping the poor from having a good time."
214. Criticize the position of the naturalist, John Burroughs, that our separate personalities are likely to be worn down and smoothed off by the constant intercommunication and friction of travel, streets, books, and newspapers, until we shall be like pebbles upon the same shore, and all alike.

Economic motive is entirely legitimate.

Commercialization affects politics, religion, ^{part} to certain extent

CHAPTER XXXII

COMMERCIALIZATION

COMMERCIALIZATION is the increasing subjection of a calling to the profits motive. Into the production of a good or a service may enter various motives which hold this motive in check, such as

1. Pleasure in creative activity.
2. Pride in the perfection of one's product.
3. Accepted standards of technical excellence which forbid the putting forth of a ware or a service which falls below a certain degree of merit.
4. Abhorrence of sham or humbug in one's work. Desire to render loyal service, to market genuine goods.
5. Solicitude for the welfare of the customer or patron, prompting one to refuse to supply him with that which will disappoint, defraud, or harm him.

6. Doing one's work as a service to society.

Now the encroachment of the profits motive in our time is not due to the weakening of such motives but is a consequence of certain transformations which have occurred in our economic relations.

The greater social distance between producer and consumer. Less and less often nowadays is the user of one's ware a concrete known person to whom one feels a sense of responsibility. One's product passes out into that vague mass, the "public," and there is lost to view. Hence, the baker who kneads "chalk and alum and plaster" into his loaf may be no miscreant, after all, for he cannot know just who will eat that loaf or what gripe it will give him. Only a villain would fit out an unsuspecting customer with a life preserver filled with sawdust instead of cork; but the manufacturers who a few years ago were found to be equipping excursion steamers with these spurious "life preservers" may have been far from moral monsters. They were supplying their treacherous wares not to men and women, but to "the market."

The corporate form of business organization thrusts apart producers and consumers. The stockholders on whose behalf iniquity is done do not consciously will it. It is not their wish that children should be worn

out for them, or workmen maimed in avoidable industrial accidents, or consumers defrauded, or the public taste corrupted. They instigate such wickedness only because they know not what they do when they clamor for dividends. Their avarice is reflected in the conduct of the business, but not their good will.

Not only does incorporation take personal responsibility out of business relations, but every year sees more savings banks, trust companies, and insurance companies come between industrial concerns and those who provide the money. This makes it still more difficult for the conscience of the latter to influence the management.

The growing differentiation between principals and subordinates. In large concerns the men at the top may adopt greedy policies which they well know cannot be carried out without deceit or corruption. They would not do such dirty work themselves, but they require others to do it. Upon their subordinates they impose the obligation to get "results," but ignore the crooked means by which alone the "results" they insist on may be obtained. The veins of business like the veins of the body have valves, their purposes being to check the return flow to the principals of knowledge of the odious practices and the blistering tirades to which the policies they insist on give rise. Safe behind their cordon of underlings they instigate crimes which they lack the nerve to commit in the open.

The increasing prominence of capital in the practice of an art or profession tends to subordinate artistic or professional conscience to profit. This is illustrated in the commercialization of the stage. As the theater-going public becomes accustomed to more sumptuous stage effects, the actor-manager gives way to the capitalist-manager. The actor-manager is dominated by the idea of "elevating the stage," of making the drama a great and uplifting social force. Great actors like Booth and Irving pass their lives either as "stars" accumulating a fortune, or as managers spending it in giving the public drama finer than it will pay for. But, with the greater costliness of theatrical production, the capitalist-manager takes charge while the great actor remains throughout his career an employee. Generally this type of producer tries to see not how *high* one dare go, but how *low* one dare go. Ideals and social aims are contemptuously kicked out of the theatrical business. The only question is, "What will the Public like?" and this is answered frequently by a vulgar avaricious man who has no idea that the taste of the public admits of being educated upward as well as downward.

THE PROFITS MOTIVE AND THE NEWSPAPERS

In newspaper publishing the capital factor gains constantly on the service factor, with the result that less and less is the editor-owner able to hire the capital he needs, while more and more the owner is a capitalist who hires the editors he needs. The capitalist-owner is likely to run the newspaper as he would run a theater or hotel, and less often than the editor-owner does he see it as a great social instrumentality. Furthermore, the newspaper is a peculiar undertaking in that it unites two services altogether different—the purveyance of news and opinions and the sale of publicity in the form of advertising. The former is a responsible public service, the latter the marketing of a ware. Now, constantly the share of the newspaper's receipts from advertising grows, while the receipts from readers and subscribers dwindle. Since 1880 the receipts from advertising have risen from *forty-four* per cent. to *sixty-eight* per cent. Waking up to the fact that they hold the whip, the advertisers are exercising an increasing secret censorship over the newspapers. Significant is it that during the war the newspapers, in order to please their advertisers, preached "Business as usual," when, for the sake of the Liberty loans, they should have preached "Nothing as usual."

Thus it happens that, although the social mission of the newspaper was never so widely recognized, although forty schools and courses for journalism have been established within fifteen years, the clandestine prostitution of the newspaper to the business interests has never been so general. (As the proportion of receipts from advertising creeps up the newspaper is coming to be an advertising circular carrying reading matter, rather than a news medium carrying advertising. It will get worse until society restricts its rôle as seller of publicity. If newspapers were not allowed to derive more than a modest proportion of their total income from advertising, they would cost us more but they would tell more truth.

THE "CORPORATION COLLAR"

When a lawyer sits in his office and causes are brought to him he can choose which to undertake. But a large business, finding itself in need of a continuous supply of legal services, retains a lawyer to look after its interests in all cases which may involve it. Such a relation saps his moral independence, for, even if his client's cause is unjust, he is obliged to stand for it under penalty of losing his employment. He may

be required to defend all suits brought by injured workmen or for violation of the child-labor laws, and to prosecute malicious eviction suits against striking tenants of company houses. Thus the practice of law becomes a mere tool of business and the lawyer's work is cut out for him by the business man. As the proportion of lawyers who accept corporation service grows, the chances are poorer for the independent attorneys who take only the cases they believe in.

THE PROFITS MOTIVE IN ART

It is said that half or more of the statuary made in the United States is not carved by the man who signs it. Sculptors of reputation sign the product of young unknown men, reaping for themselves the proceeds and the honor. "Monument associations" interpose themselves between sculptor and public. They have agents in the field soliciting contributions for the erection of a statue for some famous man or event. An open competition will be announced, with a prize for the best model submitted, but the association sees to it that the prize goes to the model submitted by some young sculptor in its employ.

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF AMUSEMENT AND RECREATION

Formerly young folks' fun was not catered, but was self-made, home-made, church-made, or school-made. In the home there was the inevitable chaperonage of the old folks amiably looking on. Entertainments held in the schoolhouse ordinarily were supervised by the teacher and, in any case, the school trustees were in the background as board of censors. Other social gatherings were sponsored by the church or by some daughter organization. Now, the taste for amateur amusement is dying out. Thanks to good roads and automobiles, the country young people are turning from their home-bred fun to the professional amusement-makers to be enjoyed in the town. Since the art of entertainment has become specialized, the church no longer leads in recreation as once she did.

In a word, as never before, recreation is being *supplied for money*. The danger of this is that commercial recreation tends to become a means for the economic and moral exploitation of the young. It is in the nature of play and amusement to tend upward or tend downward. In case they are catered and without regulation, they tend downward, because more money can be extracted from young people by offering them the high-flavored, the *risqué*, the sensational, than by offering them the pure and elevating. The conscience of the individual amusement-

caterer is well-nigh a negligible factor, for if he is restrained by scruples he will be beaten by a less scrupulous rival. In this field the man without conscience is "fittest."

Some benefit, no doubt, is to be had from the *regulation* of commercial amusements, e.g., the censoring of shows and motion films and the supervision of public dance halls. The only policy, however, which holds much promise is *the communal provision of recreation*. This is why, in the last twenty years, there has been a wonderful expansion of the facilities provided by institutional churches, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the social settlements, the social centers, the recreation centers, the public playgrounds, and the public libraries. Society refuses to abandon this field to Mammon.

UPS AND DOWNS OF COMMERCIALISM

One might go on to show the commercialization of prostitution; of sport and intercollegiate athletics; of immigration from Europe by the transport companies; and of war scares and military preparedness by the munition-makers. While, however, the profits motive has gained ground in our time, let no one suppose that this motive has had always a career of triumphant aggression. The fact is, the path of man's advance is strewn with cast-off commercialisms. One might almost sum up the moral side of social progress as *the expulsion of the profits motive from those parts of the social order in which it has no business to be*.

DE-COMMERCIALIZED MATING

Time was when the father disposed of his daughter's hand to the highest bidder. Sometimes, as among the Tekke Turcomans to-day, when the daughter's services as rug-weaver are very remunerative to the father, he names a bride-price so high that she goes through life without a mate. A century ago in Servia, what with purchase price and presents to members of the bride's family, a wife became so dear that "many a poor fellow was unable to marry at all." Finally a price-fixing law was passed restricting payment for a bride to one ducat. On the other hand, in some societies a "marriage portion" has been expected with the bride, so that the portionless girls go husbandless. In olden times an approved philanthropy was to provide poor girls with marriage portions. In the folk tales the crowning proof of romantic love was the lover's willingness to take his sweetheart without a portion. It is not thirty years since Westermarck wrote, "In our days a woman without a marriage portion,

unless she has some great natural attraction, runs the risk of being a spinster forever." How remote all such huckstering seems! Never has mating been so free from the taint of avarice as in America to-day.

DE-COMMERCEIALIZED RELIGION

Of old a man won divine favor in proportion to his sacrifices. He who offered the richer sacrifice believed that the god would surely be on his side. The unseen powers were supposed to bestir themselves more for the rich man who could offer a hecatomb than for the poor wight who could offer only a dove. This type of religion, however, was displaced by faiths like those of Jesus and Mahomet, which make God's favor depend on the *heart* of the worshiper rather than on his *sacrifice*. Jesus' parable of the widow's mite is a landmark in the humanizing of religion.

With the conviction that the petitioner does well to have his sacrifice and request offered by an expert, a wide door was opened to making money out of religion. Originally the priest was a pray-er. He knew just what formulas, postures, and gestures to use under the given conditions. By such means he could *compel* the god to do his will. Naturally he would not exercise this mystic power on behalf of the worshiper without pay, any more than an attorney will plead his client's cause without fee. So the priest charged a stiff price for his services and grew wealthy. In Homer's time the priest drank the finest dark wine of which he knew. About the close of the second century Tertullian declared that in heathenism the very gods are for sale, that no one is admitted free of charge to the knowledge of the gods. A fee is exacted for room in the temple, for even admittance thereto.

DE-COMMERCEIALIZED GOVERNMENT

It was customary for the Roman state to *farm out* its taxes, rather than collect them by the hand of its own servants. Companies bid against one another for the right to collect a particular tax in a certain province for a term of years. The contract with the censor fixed the rate at which the publican or tax gatherer could collect, but there was little to restrain the practice of extortion. "Wherever the tax gatherers penetrate," says Livy, "there is no justice or liberty for anyone." "Imagine," writes Cicero, "what is the fate of our allies in the remoter provinces when even in Italy I hear the complaints of Roman citizens." Among the Jews the publicans could not enter a court of law to give testimony, nor fill offices of judicature, nor engage in public prayers.

No money was to be changed at their treasury, their contributions to charity were not accepted, and they were ranked with thieves and murderers.

About the close of the seventeenth century the French Crown began to sell to sixty "farmers-general" the right to collect the indirect taxes. Their profits were exorbitant, the collection was wasteful and expensive, and their cruel methods often led to bloody conflicts. When the Convention met it prosecuted the farmers-general as enemies of the people and guillotined thirty-five of them. Amidst general execration, the system fell after an existence of nearly a century.

Farming out the poor is another instance of handling public responsibility as a business transaction.

Until half a century ago commissions in the British army were private property. The officer bought his commission and, when he was done with it, he sold it for the highest price he could obtain. The capable experienced officer could be jumped over in promotion by a mere youth. The high cost of a commission made the command of His Majesty's troops a prerogative of the aristocracy. This class privilege was extinguished by paying the owners of commissions \$35,000,000 in compensation.

To sum up: The aggressions of the profits motive to-day are, then, but an eddy in a great current which has borne us farther and farther from sale and purchase. That in modern society love, salvation, the sacraments, protection, justice, education, access to the professions, access to the public service, promotion, and recognition are generally to be had on a basis of *need* or *desert*, instead of *price*, is owing to numerous triumphs over commercialism by the spirit of justice and humanity.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What higher motives may inspire one's economic activity?
2. What is the effect of the relations between producer and consumer being less direct?
3. What is meant by the term "custom made crime"?
4. Account for the commercialization of the stage.
5. Account for the commercialization of the newspaper.
6. Account for the commercialization of amusement.
7. How has mating been de-commercialized? Religion? Government?

EXERCISES

215. What is the significance of the fact that in this country what we generally mean by "opportunity" is *freedom to make money*?

216. Compare the tone of the ordinary "business college" with that of the commercial department of a public high school.
217. Why is it that the communal provision of recreation gives far better results than the regulation of commercial recreation?
218. Why do the authorities bar from intercollegiate athletic contests any student who has ever taken money for playing?
219. Why do the best physicians try to stamp out the practice of "fee-splitting," i.e., the specialist sharing his fee with the doctor who has sent him the case?
220. Pros and cons of the proposal that only governments themselves should engage in the manufacture of munitions of war.
221. What is the objection to the state leasing the labor power of its convicts to a commercial company which will board the convicts and pay the state a profit besides?
222. What is the effect on religion of the clergyman having no income but the fees for his sacerdotal services?
223. What is the significance of the hymn, "I'm glad salvation's free"?

CHAPTER XXXIII

PROFESSIONALIZATION

THE patron of the artisan or tradesman is presumed to be competent to look out for his interests. Bad wares he can reject and poor service he can refuse to pay for. But the patron of a calling which involves the use of highly technical knowledge, since he is not qualified to judge the worth of the service he receives, has to take it on trust. The patient cannot pass upon his doctor's treatment. The client cannot test the value of the advice his counsel gives or know whether his cause is properly presented. The student cannot plumb his teacher's learning, the reader gage the editor's disinterestedness, nor the creditor verify the audit of the public accountant. One will hesitate to commit one's dearest interests to such men unless one believes them to be worthy of trust. There is need, therefore, that callings of this confidential character be restricted to men of honor acting with reference to a high standard. The means of bringing this to pass is *to elevate the calling into a profession*.

The expert cannot raise the tone of his calling unless he is shielded from the withering competition of bunglers, quacks and charlatans. So the first step toward creating a profession is *the exclusion of the unfit*. This is sought by forbidding the practice of the profession to all save those who have been licensed by some board, institution or organization authorized to examine and pass upon the proficiency and character of applicants. Along with this goes often the power *to expel* from the profession the practitioner whose conduct is such as to bring it into disrepute.

It is not enough to bar out unworthy persons. It is necessary that the calling *attract to itself men of good breeding and high spirit*, for it is such men who will contribute most to set and fix an exacting standard of professional conduct. To this end the law generally accords the calling some *official recognition*.

RECOGNITION OF THE PROFESSIONS

Army and navy officers not only hold their commissions from the head of the state, but under militarist governments they are authorized

to cut down pitilessly any civilian "insulting the uniform." The clergy once enjoyed exemption from the jurisdiction of secular tribunals, i.e., "benefit of clergy," and even now the courts respect "the seal of the confessional." Ordinarily the physician is not required to divulge on the witness stand the secrets of his patients and in a great variety of juridical questions the law insists upon the testimony of medical men. A constitutional "liberty of the press" protects the journalist. Lawyers have been drawn into the judicial system until in the eye of the law the bar has rights and functions well-nigh as important as those of the bench. The more exacting legal requirements as to the audit of companies amount to a recognition of the profession of public accountant, while the statutes establishing administrative boards occasionally recognize the existence of such persons as architects, engineers, psychologists, economists, and sociologists.

Of even greater benefit to the tone of a calling is a *social status* high enough to protect the dignity and self-respect of the practitioner. The lawyer makes clear to his client that he is a counselor, not a servant. The physician feels at liberty to remonstrate with the patient suffering from the consequences of his evil conduct. The indispensableness of the clergyman in such crises as christening, marriage, and death, together with the custom of prayer at public functions, gives him a place of much prominence. The scholar shares in the prestige of science, although his will not be a position of real dignity until "academic freedom" is firmly established. The military enjoy a social status inherited from feudalism, when holders of command were also territorial magnates. Gradually the professions have risen in public esteem until they are no longer overshadowed by the hereditary ruling or fighting castes. To-day successful professional men mingle on a footing of equality with wealthy bankers and capitalists, although their position in relation to the hereditarily rich—the leisure class—is yet dubious.

THE PROFESSIONAL SPIRIT

The natural effect of fencing the field and attracting into it superior men is the growth of *the professional spirit*, which is the very antithesis of the commercial spirit. In a true profession the pursuit of gain is subordinated to the aim of service. This implies for one thing that the practitioner will have but *one grade of work*, namely, *his best*. No physician will be respected who from carelessness botches a charity case. Again, the practitioner will be *loyal to the interests of his patron* even

to the extent of opposing the patron's wishes. He will quit a case rather than render what he knows to be a disservice rather than a service.

As counselor in the intimate matters of life, the professional man must command the implicit confidence of his patron. Hence, he not only *keeps the secrets intrusted to him*, but he *forbears to use to the disadvantage of his patron anything he has learned in a confidential relation*. The architect will not accept a commission from a contractor and, if he has a financial interest in any building material or device, he will not specify or use it without the knowledge and approval of his client. The consulting engineer is expected to inform his client of any business connections which might be presumed to influence his judgment and to receive no royalty or commission on any patented article or process used in his client's work without written authorization from his client.

To keep the huckstering outsider from coming between patron and practitioner it is held unprofessional for the latter *to deal through a middleman* or *to conceal his personality under a corporate name*. The services of the salaried doctor of a ship, a college, or a company ought to be gratuitous to the patient. The public accountant ought not to take service with an audit company nor the lawyer allow a collection agency to charge his patrons for his services. The practitioner ought not to pay commissions to laymen for securing business, divide his fees with persons outside the profession nor allow any one to guarantee his honesty and efficiency. Working for a contingent fee is, save in certain cases, regarded as beneath his dignity.

The putting of service above gain-getting implies a willingness to serve at times *without fee*. The good physician stands ready to treat indigent sufferers, the good lawyer to take up the cause of the penniless victim of injustice. Architect, engineer and journalist are not called upon to serve the distressed individual but they may properly be called upon to contribute their professional services to a movement for public betterment. Every successful member of an honorable profession ought to be willing *to do some free work*.

In consideration of the recognition enjoyed by the professions, they generally acknowledge their obligation *to practise with due regard to the interests of society*. The scholar recognizes his obligation to proclaim truth at whatever cost to himself, the journalist his duty to publish the news fairly and without bias, the clergyman his call to apply Christian principles no matter who may be wroth, the physician his duty to stay out a pestilence even at the risk of his life. The architect should

not, under his client's instructions, look for a way to evade the building code, nor should the engineer show how to dodge the sanitary regulations. The lawyer's first obligation is not to win his case, but to see that justice is done. To stoop to fraud or chicane on behalf of his client or to find him a crooked path around the statute is to violate the bar's implied contract with society.

While engineers and architects are at liberty to patent their inventions, the medical profession has always set its face against secret remedies and the patenting of a means of relieving human suffering, insisting that it is a part of the physician's honor not to restrict the use of a medicine for the purpose of gain, but to give it freely to the world. The doctors' fight with the makers of proprietary medicines is a war to the knife between the professional spirit and the commercial spirit.

Soliciting employment, advertising, seeking publicity, underbidding, attempts to supplant or to injure maliciously the reputation or prospects of a colleague, are frowned upon as tending to lower the profession to the level of a trade. Lawyers *ban advertising* as tending to stir up litigation; furthermore, competitive advertising would greatly augment the expenses of professional men without making them in any way more useful to the public. The psychology, however, underlying the strong aversion to advertising in all the professions is, doubtless, the fear lest competition degenerate into an undignified scramble for business by all manner of self-laudation, falsehood and depreciation of rivals. In barring out any other means of commending one's self to possible patrons than worthy service, paid or unpaid, private or public, professional men are protecting not only their own interest, but that of society as well.

CLIENT VS. SOCIETY

The older professions tend to *put loyalty to the patron above duty to society*. For example, the leaders of the medical profession formerly insisted that the physician has no right to speak of any ailment or defect he may learn of in his practice. In view of what we know about the communicability of diseases, is such secrecy ethical? If a health officer may nail a sign of warning on a house with a case of small-pox or scarlet fever, surely the physician is not bound to withhold all warning. Take the situation in Brieux's play, "Damaged Goods." A young man not yet fully cured of a "social" disease plans to marry an innocent young woman. Is it right for his doctor to hold his tongue when her life and the sanity of her children are at stake? The truth needs to be ham-

mered home that there exist certain racial and social interests which the doctor may never subordinate to his patient's desire for privacy.

What is more at odds with common sense than to justify the advocate who defends an accused person whom he knows, or has good reason to believe, to be guilty? The excuses offered for aiding the culprit against society are mere sophistries, spun to gloss over the irresponsible practice of law. The argument that the lawyer who treats the accused as a criminal is presumptuously putting himself in place of the judge is a quirk that any bright schoolboy ought to see through. No doubt the guilty man should have the benefit of those forms of procedure which have been worked out as safeguards for the innocent. But such defense, if offered by an advocate appointed by the court, whose prestige is therefore not at stake, will not go beyond the proper minimum. On the other hand, the attorney who voluntarily takes such a case has a strong interest in getting his client off. Acquittal will enhance his professional reputation. So he does his best to thwart the prosecution and frequently succeeds in turning loose on society an unpunished criminal. Yet the public is bidden not to despise this mercenary who has deliberately thrust a spoke amidst the wheels of justice!

A society always hard put to it to keep down crime should never cease to resent and denounce the profoundly immoral maxim that a lawyer unbidden can without dishonor undertake any defense.

THE PURIFICATION OF PROFESSIONS

The promulgation of rules which formulate the common understanding of reputable practitioners is, no doubt, a great aid to well-intentioned but inexperienced members of the profession. But an altogether more vigorous policy is needed if the ideals of professions exposed to the full strain of modern commercialism are not to become a mockery and a jest. If honorable practitioners are not relieved of the competition of the unscrupulous, they will starve and the profession will be given over to men of low standards or of no standards at all.

It is, therefore, necessary to make it worth while for wobbly practitioners to live up to the code of ethics of the profession. Lawyers are regularly disbarred for flagrant practices and in some states physicians and public accountants may for unprofessional conduct lose their license. Proposals have been made that, after the society of a profession has made known its code of ethics, it shall create a standing committee on ethics which shall investigate all complaints submitted to it bearing upon the professional conduct of a member and after hearing the member

involved shall report its findings to the council of the society. Publicity, reprimand, ejection from the society, dismissal from the profession constitute a gamut of penalties which might strike terror into the hearts of the shysters, ambulance chasers, and jury-fixers who hang on the skirts of the law, or of the charlatans and blackguards who slip into medicine.

Mere moral suasion no more suffices to keep the professions straight than public opinion suffices to keep the peace. In either case, tribunals and punishment are necessary. The good in each of the professions ought to be organized in order to pursue and harry the bad. Resistance to such organization comes chiefly from those who want a free hand in earning fees.

LIMITS TO THE EXTENSION OF THE PROFESSIONAL SPIRIT

Seeing that the professional spirit affords a means of mitigating and refining the workings of private interest without resort to the more or less uncertain method of regulation by law or administrative board, some want to foster it in occupations in which it is quite incapable of producing the hoped-for benefits. It is too much to expect one to put *quality of service above gain* when one is the employee of a man who prefers gain to service. Generally the servant will be obligated to do his work according to the ideas of his employer. When, therefore, in the production of any service, *capital* comes to be a factor so prominent that the capitalist hires labor instead of the laborer hiring capital, we shall have a *business* rather than a *profession*. All the more will this be true, when, as in the case of the newspaper, the rendering of a public service is bound up with the sale of advertising.

FUTILITY OF PROFESSIONALIZING NEWSPAPERMEN

Hence the hopelessness of trying to redeem the newspaper by fortifying with the professional spirit young men preparing for journalism whose probable lot will be to be the salaried employees of newspaper owners actuated by the commercial spirit. Walk-out or boycott would, no doubt, bring to terms the newspaper proprietor who construes the acceptance of his pay as the sale of a soul, but it seems idle to expect newspapermen ever to develop such a professional solidarity as to present an unbroken front to the exactions of their masters. If the commercial newspaper ever rises to the high function committed to it in modern society, the cause will be not so much the substitution of high ideals for low ideals in the minds of newspaper makers and publishers as the ability of the reading public to discriminate sharply between the bad

newspaper and the good newspaper and their willingness to give the latter the support it deserves.

FUTILITY OF PROFESSIONALIZING PLAYERS

The stage is in much the same state as the newspaper. Acting may be a *profession*, but the production of plays is a *business*. Little is accomplished toward making the stage the great social institution it is capable of being by creating among playwrights and players a sense of responsibility for what they do, so long as what they shall present and how is determined for them by theater managers, most of whom are dominated by greed unashamed. If the despotism of commercialism over the theater is broken, it will be by the rebellion of theatergoers rather than by the revolt of stage folk.

CAN TRADE BE PROFESSIONALIZED?

It is easier to keep frauds and sharpers out of a learned profession than out of trade. In the absence of any means of clearing out the crooks, it is vain to hope to purify the morals of trade by fostering in the business man a professional pride. In the making and vending of goods the competition of the crooked man with the honest man is much more deadly than is the competition of the tricky lawyer or doctor with honorable lawyers or doctors. The latter may in some degree brand the trickster by refusing to be associated with him in a case. Moreover, in a profession the bad man can capture from the good man no more practice than one man can attend to, while in manufacture or commerce the man quite unembarrassed by moral standards may expand his business until he has stolen most of the customers of his conscientious rivals and forced them quite out of the trade.

Nevertheless, even if the branches of business are not to be made into so many professions, it does not follow that the good in business men may not be better organized to fight the bad. The preparation of young men for business life in schools of commerce in which moral problems are considered in advance of temptation and high standards of conduct are held up is likely to have a good effect. Until commercial practices are studied in a disinterested way honest men in the same branch of business will not have thought through their special ethical problems and will therefore disagree as to where they ought to draw the line. But after such problems have been clarified by discussion in special associations, journals and schools, and young men enter business with clear-cut and uniform distinctions between right and wrong in

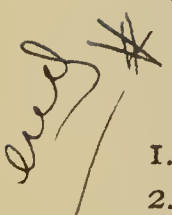
trade practice, it is possible for them by joint action to expose or punish the dishonest competitor until he is no longer a menace to them. In so fluid a medium as business, indeed, war to the knife is the only reply honorable men can make to the silent sapping and supplanting to which they are subjected by unscrupulous rivals. The crooks are not in the least obliged to fight the honorable men in order to eliminate them from the business; but the honorable men must openly and relentlessly fight the crooks if they are to escape ruin. In this struggle the public has so keen an interest that it should endeavor in every way—by laws, by rulings of trade and commerce commissions and by boycott—to help the champions of good practices to gain the victory.

THE JOINT-STOCK COMPANY CANNOT BE PROFESSIONALIZED

When it comes to making the large commercial corporation a tractable social servant, the difficulty of control from within becomes insuperable. The ultimate authority is, of course, the will of the stockholders, but in most cases the stockholders are too numerous, remote, and scattered, too ignorant of the business and too little acquainted with one another to have any definite opinion as to the right and wrong of the practices of their corporation or to make such opinion effective if they had it. Their virtues do not extend to and purify their corporation, for about the only part of them influential in the management of their corporation is their quite natural and innocent hankering for dividends.

Because in the end this incessant hankering triumphs over every other force within the enterprise, little is to be done by attempting to foster the professional spirit in the officers and managers of business corporations. It may just as well be recognized first as last that the structure of such entities furnishes a poor soil for disinterested motives, just as alkali furnishes a poor soil for orange trees. Regularly the business corporation will follow the line of what appears to be maximum profits for the long run unless it is controlled from without by means of law, railroad commission, public utilities commission, labor organization, shippers' association, or other outside agency.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

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1. What kinds of callings need to be professionalized?
 2. Illustrate formal recognition of a calling.
 3. Illustrate social recognition of a calling.
 4. Describe the professional spirit.

5. Show the anti-social character of certain canons of the medical profession.
Of the legal profession.
6. What will happen if the unworthy are not expelled from the professions?
7. How may the professions be purified?
8. Set forth the limits to the extension of the professional spirit.

EXERCISES

224. Why is it held "unprofessional" to speak derogatively of the abilities of a fellow-professional to a possible client?
225. How can we lessen the freemasonry which causes judges to allow exorbitant fees to lawyers?
226. Are there reasons for supposing that the day will come when training courses for realtors and hotel men will be offered in the state university, and for each of these occupations there will be a state examining and licensing board?
227. What would have to be done in order to professionalize in your state the occupation of soliciting insurance?
228. Should you like to see the playing of athletic games professionalized?
Reasons.

REGRESS AND PROGRESS

CHAPTER

XXXIV	OSSIFICATION
XXXV	DECADENCE
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XXXVII	RE-SHAPING

CHAPTER XXXIV

OSSIFICATION

IN olden days the American common schools remained closed during the growing season in order that the farmers might have the help of their children. Thus originated the long summer vacation, and as the cities established their school systems they adopted it without question. There are many ways in which school buildings and grounds may be used during the summer to keep children happy and usefully occupied. But no. Although half of us are urban, every June we close the schools of our cities and turn millions of children into the street—to hoe corn and “bug” potatoes!

In an early day in the level West the practice struck root of laying out roads on the section lines. Later the gridiron plan was adhered to even in rough country where it would be more economical to lay out the roads according to the contour, so that they would follow the water courses or the water partings. To-day millions of loads are needlessly hauled over hill after hill on their way to market and thousands of hill-side roads are washed away every season because men blindly follow precedent.

In general, after a social practice or institution has existed for a generation or two, it is off its rational base and will be retained even in a situation so changed that there is no rhyme nor reason to it. The first users will modify or abandon it if it does not suit their purpose; but after it has been taken over and worked by a later generation which has come to have feelings about it, it turns to bone, as it were. The process, then, by which social institutions and arrangements lose plasticity and harden into rigid forms may be called *ossification*.

CAUSES OF OSSIFICATION

Mental laziness. We are loath to put our minds to a stretch for long. Little problems may challenge and stimulate us like the situations in a game of chess, but we shun big complex problems which call for sustained thinking. Hence, we shrink from recognizing a changed situation, and re-thinking our task. Indolently we roll along in the rut

of habit and precedent until a stone in the rut twists us out of it. Absorbed in their daily round, few ever pause to ask themselves: "Is this thing of any use?" "Am I doing any real good?" The ability to see one's activity in a true perspective is a rare gift.

Control by the old. Even the strong minds, the highly educated men, tend to abide in their earlier judgments and to retain the emotional attitudes of their youth. If, then, the control of affairs is in the hands of the old, the effete thing will longer escape notice and be longer tolerated than if young men are at the helm. If education falls out of step with life, if knowledge grows beyond the creeds, if laws fail to keep up with the development of social relations, the unprejudiced young will realize it first and will demand changes which the old see no reason for.

On reviewing modern history in order to compare epochs of reform and epochs of quiet with respect to the *age of their leaders*, Gowin found that in ten historical periods of reform or revolution the average age of the dozen leading men in each varied from 32 to 46 years. On the other hand, the average age of their chief opponents or of the leaders in quiet periods varied from 54 to 66 years. In general, the champions of change have been from 15 to 20 years younger than the champions of opposition to change.

Veneration for precedent. The long-established becomes an Ark of the Covenant which we fear to lay hand on lest we meet the fate of Uzzah. Perhaps our forefathers fought and bled for it. It has inspired heroic deeds, noble poetry and eloquence. We cannot imagine that a thing so cherished has become a stumbling-block or a nuisance. In the face of the imperative need of church union the faithful cling to their denominational peculiarities because of the sacrifices these doctrines once cost. The monastic ideal, the Monroe Doctrine, the policy of avoiding "entangling alliances," the uniformity of taxation, the "open door," *laissez-faire*, inspire passionate devotion long after their value has become doubtful. The American Constitution has gathered such prestige that scholars who demonstrate the part selfish interests took in its shaping are vilified.

The assumption that society is static. People generally imagine that society keeps to its track until some large sensible force—a war, a revolution, a law, a religious movement, or a great invention—gives it a new direction. The fact is society can never be stable while its base shifts and its base may be shifted by the piled effects of numerous small imperceptible changes—new methods of tillage, a gain of manufacturing on agriculture, cheaper carriage, the opening of new channels of trade,

immigration, population increase, the unequal growth of sections and classes, the disappearance of the frontier, the rush to the cities, the access of women to industry, etc. Silently these lowly unnoticed processes make society into something else than we imagine it to be, so that some of the wisdom of the past turns to folly and perhaps some of its folly becomes wisdom. Hence, each generation ought to look over all the institutions they inherit and consider of each whether it is still at its peak of fitness. But this they will never do until they recognize that society is *dynamic*.

Vested interests resist change. Persons become dependent on an institution and therefore resist proposals to abandon or alter it. The teachers of Latin and Greek protest against reforming in a modern spirit the traditional courses of study for youth. For thirty years religious leaders have urged that economics and sociology be a part of the training for the Christian ministry. With rare exceptions, however, the theological seminaries have done nothing owing to the vested interest of the professors of the traditional subjects. As a result the clergy are steadily losing influence because of their ignorance of the burning moral issues of the time.

Gild self-interest is, then, an obstacle to adaptive change. Certain persons have specialized in good faith and lo, they are in danger of losing their occupation. It is indeed hard. One cannot well expect them to capitulate to anything less than a mathematical demonstration of their superfluity, and this is impossible outside the field of material production. They are like players who protest against the game being changed to their detriment while they are playing it.

The dominant social class may resist change. In America the commercial class has long played upon a popular suspicion and jealousy of government inherited from the eighteenth century when government was an alien arbitrary agency over which the commonalty had no effective control. Now that government has been made responsive to the popular will such distrust is unwarranted. Yet the business interests which fear state interference or regulation fan continually these dying embers.

As departments of government multiply to keep pace with the complexity of modern life, the practice of electing all public officials becomes pernicious. The "long ballot" betrays democracy by giving the real selection of such officials into the hands of party "machines" and "bosses." It would have disappeared long ago but for the fight put up on its behalf by the politicians.

The long retention of the "fellow servant" defense in suits for indemnity brought by injured employees exemplifies the power of the employing class over courts and legislatures. Its injustice had been conceded by all a generation before it was discarded.

While the dominant class thus causes society to appear at times more stupid than it actually is, there are matters in which it lends society a deceptive air of ready adaptiveness. When this class puts its weight behind a logical change, reform may be effected with startling suddenness. Good roads, the gold standard, banking reform, national budget, permanent tariff commission, could never have crashed so irresistibly through American prejudices but for the driving power of the business interests.

HOW THE DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES REACT TO CHANGE

Of the chief elements in society the *intellectuals* have the least horror of change and the keenest appreciation of the need of it. The commercial class comprises many limber-minded adaptable *business men* who are hospitable enough to needed changes which do not appear contrary to their interests. On account of their lack of education the *wage-earners* are often slaves to tradition. Their material interests, however, are not bound up with the inherited order and, once their minds are set free, they stand for radicalism, i.e., the rational and thoroughgoing adaptation of institutions to the needs of society. Owing to their dealing with *Nature* rather than *man*, the farmers are limited in their mental contacts. They respond to the influence of their forefathers rather than of their contemporaries, and stand for the inherited order save when the need of reform is sharply brought home to them by their own painful experiences. Here is one reason why farmers and workmen, although they constitute the two wings of the great producing class and have common interests, are slow to coöperate politically.

Of all the economic classes the *propertied* is least sympathetic with the rational transformation of time-hallowed institutions. Its entire economic position rests upon inheritance and vested rights. Since it shares in current production in virtue not of present exertion but of title from the past, it cannot afford to allow the past to be discredited. Its attitude toward effete institutions is expressed in the maxim, "Let sleeping dogs lie." Since most reforms are detrimental to property in one form or another, the propertied become excessively timorous and develop an instinctive horror of all radical ideas. The domination of the farmers or the propertied therefore makes society like a stiff-jointed rheumatic, while the shifting of power from these classes in the direc-

tion of the intellectuals, the business men, or the proletariat, is apt to make society more supple and adaptable.

PREVENTIVES OF OSSIFICATION

What can be done to save society from a burdensome accumulation of effete customs and institutions?

Retire the old earlier and commit the helm to younger men. How foolish it is to suppose that only the graybeards can preserve society whereas the young would run it on to the rocks! A group of 55 persons averaging less than thirty years of age abolished the shogunate in Japan in 1867 and turned the face of Nippon toward the rising sun. We should be better off, no doubt, were the majority of those in society's key positions below the age of fifty rather than above it.

Get the talented into high places. Men cling to forms void of meaning because they lack imagination and the power of constructive thought. To take things as he finds them and to do things as they always have been done is the recourse of the numbskull in office. Mediocrity loves to follow the groove. Therefore *man all important posts in society with the talented*. Perhaps the perfecting of mental measurements will enable us to penetrate the camouflage by which the dunderheads conceal their stupidity and creep into high places.

Preserve to the individual the freedom of initiative. In a custom-bound time a single daring innovator may start something which will hearten others to break their bondage to the past. One weakness of communal landholding as we see it in Russia is that farming becomes traditional, because the clever peasant is not free to till his strips according to his own ideas. Communal customs and ethics therefore hold men back, while the adoption of the principle that the individual can do what he likes with his own, can make mistakes *ad libitum* provided that he does not infringe the rights of others or hurt the community, encourages initiative and makes for social progress.

Keep social institutions out of the grasp of religion. As revealing the will of a perfect and therefore changeless Being religion is the most conservative of influences. Only in that rare manifestation known as *prophetism* does it renounce its past. The more that institutions are delivered to the rigid clasp of religion the harder it is to adapt them to changing conditions. One cause of the immobility that has fallen upon the Mohammedan world is that its law is derived from the Koran. Fortunately there has never been a "Christian" law. Only small communities have ever relied exclusively on Biblical principles. Hence,

the Christian peoples have had the advantage of two great plastic secular systems of jurisprudence—Roman Law and the Common Law.

Base right and wrong on human nature and the nature of society. Instead of being fixed for all time by the texts of an ancient book, moral discriminations should develop with changing conditions of social life and keep step with the progress of psychology and sociology. Rigid ecclesiastical dogmas as to interest, alms-giving, marriage and propagation simply cannot survive the light of social science. Again, the dissociation of the state from religion gives it a freedom of development unknown to the theocratic state. The latter has certain merits, but adaptability is not one of them.

Let religion give a rule of life to the individual and affect society by influencing its members. But its authority should end with the individual conscience; it should not preside over nor determine laws and institutions.

Keep a balance between clergy and other intellectuals so that religion may not become formal and dry. The Moslem world is held back by fanatical Mollahs because there is no other group with which they are forced to compete for leadership. If lawyers, scholars, and journalists encroached upon the clergy of Islam as they have encroached upon the clergy of Christendom, the Mollahs would be obliged to raise their standards of education.

Apply critical scholarship to the history of institutions. This discloses whether or not a particular institution was founded on error and whether the circumstances under which it arose or the situation to which it was adapted have changed.

The restless intellect is the natural enemy of the effete as sunlight is the natural enemy of certain fungi. Therefore *preserve inviolate the right of free inquiry*. No institution may rightfully claim immunity from scrutiny and test. Nothing should be held so "sacred" that it may not be criticized by a competent person at the proper time and in a seemly manner.

Let the learner study life as well as books. We do not find the lawyers calling attention to the dead wood that cumbers the law, but outsiders. The protests against church traditionalism come not so much from clergymen as from intelligent laymen. The trouble is that the students of law and theology study books instead of life. Professional education would foster the liberal spirit if more of it were field work and less of it bookish.

Test results by measurement. Just as cost accounting brings to light the weak spots in a business so the exact measurement of results may bring to light the weak spots in social organization. Alternative methods of probation, of reformation of juvenile delinquents, of apprenticeship, of instruction, of sanitation, of poor relief, of social insurance, of industrial training, of factory discipline, may be tested by comparing their results. The "social survey" is only ten years old, yet constantly its technique is perfected and it is introduced into new fields. Although the method of measurement needs to be applied with caution, for it is liable to overlook or misread certain of the finer values, there should be incessant endeavor to substitute exact comparison for guessing in conflicts between old and new.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is ossification?
2. How does mental laziness make for ossification?
3. Show that the long-established becomes a fetich.
4. Show how worthy private interests stand in the way of advance.
5. Illustrate the proposition that the self-interest of the dominant class may stand in the way of needed change.
6. Compare the chief social elements in their attitude toward change.
7. If religion should govern individuals, why shouldn't it govern institutions?
8. What does freedom of inquiry imply?
9. How may methods of exact measurement aid society's self-criticism?

EXERCISES

229. Why do college traditions become fixed in a much briefer time than those of the world outside?
230. Are unconventional literary and artistic Bohemias (Greenwich Village, e.g.) harmful or beneficial to society?
231. Intellectual young Chinese did not under the old order go through any such period of radicalism and revolt against acceptable parental canons as many intellectual young Americans do. Is it well that the latter for a while decry much that they later see the wisdom of?
232. It is said that no Charleston (S. C.) family has been admitted to the highest circle of Charleston society since 1824. What is the good side of this exclusiveness? The bad side?
233. What is the motive of the suggestion that the decisions of courts of equity be not published?
234. Why are we better off with a Common Law than we should be if our law were based on the Bible?
235. Shall we some day have religious surveys, morals surveys, and family-life surveys of communities, as now we have health surveys and school surveys?

CHAPTER XXXV

DECADENCE

SOCIAL decadence carries the idea of the raveling of a web, the crumbling of a wall, the dropping to pieces of a structure that has rotted at the joints. The decadent society is one that has fallen off in capacity for teamwork. Perhaps the spirit of caste or sect or faction or clan overrides patriotism. Perhaps the sub-groups themselves are invaded by the spirit of each-for-himself. Egoism may go so far that the only social unit able to thrive is the *band*—i.e., the group formed about a strong man and promising immediate material advantages. Society decays with the weakening of the laws, customs, and beliefs which curb the selfishness of individuals. The spiritual web which enmeshes men gives way. There are more dissensions among them and fewer agreements, more discords and fewer harmonies, more clashings and fewer coöperations. Not only has the *I*-feeling gained on the *we*-feeling, but there is less veneration for forefathers and less concern for posterity.

DETERIORATION OF THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY

Society rests on *land* and *people*, so that, if either deteriorates, society sags or falls like a house when its foundation is breaking down. We know now that, quite in its day's work, a people can so dissipate or use up its natural resources as to leave the land scarcely habitable. Behind some of the great tragedies of history we are just beginning to glimpse *soil exhaustion*.

At her zenith Greece was a fertile, well-wooded, healthful, and very populous country with, perhaps, as many people as Belgium or Pennsylvania. Two centuries later, at the time of the Roman conquest, the country was poor and but sparsely populated. All Hellas, according to Plutarch, could put in the field not more than three thousand fully armed troops. Strabo noticed that in his time nearly all the mountains seen from the coast were denuded, while the valleys and plains were ravaged by malaria. What had happened was that the rush to the cities left the countryside short of laborers, so that pastures re-

placed tilled fields. Every summer, when the plain was parched, the herds were driven into the mountains where they browsed or trampled down the seedlings, the result being that in time the forest perished. Then the soil, no longer bound in place by living roots, began to wash down the slopes until the mountains died. Swamps formed and whole districts had to be abandoned on account of malaria. In Spain the extension of cultivation to the heights resulted in deforestation and ruined the soil, but on the plateau of Castile the climate was adverse to *anopheles*; malaria took possession only of certain low and humid districts of Andalusia.

In Rome soil exhaustion brought on such profound social changes as the turning of tilled land into pasture, the indebtedness and ruin of the Latin yeomen, the growth of great estates (*latifundia*), the formation of the urban populace, the exaction of a grain tribute from the provinces, the deliberate conquest of grain-producing countries, and the development of Rome into a huge parasite, living, as Seneca puts it, "on the spoils of all nations." But since Rome sucked food from the provinces, the shadow of soil exhaustion presently fell upon them also. Sicily, Sardinia, North Africa, Spain, went the way of Italy, which in Sophocles' time had been a granary for Greece. Only Egypt, annually refertilized by the Nile slime, escaped exhaustion.

Says the geographer Marsh:

There are parts of Asia Minor, of Northern Africa, of Greece, and even of Alpine Europe, where the operation of causes set in action by man has *brought the face of earth to a desolation almost as complete as that of the moon*; and though, within that brief space of time men call the "historical period," they are known to have been covered with luxuriant woods, verdant pastures, and fertile meadows, they are now too far deteriorated to be reclaimable by man; nor can they become again fitted for human use except through great geological changes, or other mysterious influences or agencies of which we have no present knowledge or over which we have no prospective control.

SUBJUGATION

Subjugation is another cause of the breaking up of society. Conquest usually shatters or destroys the social organization of the conquered; frequently it subjects them to conditions which warp or corrupt their character and in the end make them incompetent to maintain a normal group life. Note the pliant and slippery character of the peoples that have long lain under the blight of the Turk.

The Mongol yoke left upon the soul of the Russian people deep scars, which even now after four centuries have not been effaced. The Irish are very different from what they would be had they been as much left to themselves as the Scotch. Or let one compare the social consciousness of the Japanese with that of the East Indians, and he will perceive how, in the latter, subjugation and mixture have contributed to produce a narrow and selective grouping along the lines of blood relationship, occupation, and religion, instead of the broad and comprehensive grouping of a free people.

WASTAGE OF NATURAL ABILITY

The *cityward flow* may drain a people of its more gifted stock. The glittering cities lure the brightest youth from the fields and tempt them to strain for the prizes of success. But in the city they marry later, die sooner, and leave fewer children than the dull cousins that stayed on the farm. Invariably, until about a century ago, cities were consumers of men, their deaths always exceeding their births, so that nothing kept them up but the endless inflow from the country. The fact that the urban population can reproduce itself to-day should not lead us to forget how for centuries cities were blast furnaces where the talented rose and became incandescent, to be sure, but were, nevertheless, incinerated without having duly reproduced themselves.

Social achievement seems to use up the original eugenic capital. As a society mounts to greatness, a growing civil, military, and ecclesiastical organization draws together talent and creates brilliant centers of energy which attract the capable as lighthouses fatally attract birds. In camps, courts, cloisters, universities, and capitals the *élite* feed the flame of civilization. The flower of the race is wasted in war, or trampled under in civil strife, or drawn to centers where, a prey to wants and ambitions which thwart family instincts, it becomes glorious but sterile, fecund in deeds, ideas, and graces, but not in children. Thus the very processes which make a people great may bring on race decadence.

A strong and long-continued *emigration*, when it takes away the more hardy and enterprising, is likely to lower the quality of a people. The great outflow of Greeks, particularly after Alexander's conquests had opened all Western Asia to them, may have had something to do with the flatness of the Silver Age. The conquest and peopling of the Americas and the Philippines drained Spain of numbers she could ill spare. An outflow caused by persecution for ideas takes

away cream, as we plainly see from the record of the fugitive Huguenots and the hounded sectaries that founded certain of the American colonies.

NATURAL LEADERS DWARFED OR INTIMIDATED

One of the cankering developments is *an overgrowth of institutions* so great as to kill liberty, weaken character, and intimidate the origina-tive minds which might lead the movements that adapt society to changed conditions.

Consider Spain. In the course of eight centuries of wars at once national and religious, loyalty and religious fervor grew to be dominant passions. Poverty and ignorance, the inevitable result of incessant warfare, were favorable to the development of that unquestioning obedience to king and priest which became characteristic of the Spanish people. So the time arrived when state and church were able to rule at will. The former, with long, exhausting, foreign wars on behalf of religion; the latter, with the expulsion of the Moors, the forced emigration of the Jews, and the extermination of most original variant minds by means of the Inquisition, so wasted the strength of the people that by the end of the seventeenth century retrogression was visible in all departments of national life. Population had shrunk. Much soil had gone out of cultivation; Seville had lost all but three hundred of her sixteen thousand looms; Toledo, all but thirteen of her fifty woolen manufactories. The fisheries had so fallen away that they could not furnish sailors for a few royal ships. Charts had been lost and Spanish pilots had become ignorant of their own waters. It was impossible to pay the army or even to man the vessels of the fleet. All books, save only books of devotion, were despised; no one collected them or consulted them. The French ambassador at Madrid summed up the state of education by saying: "In Spain science is a crime and ignorance a virtue."

Although in the eighteenth century certain strong sovereigns, using able foreigners as their instruments of reform, produced an artificial progress, it needed but a single reactionary king to bring down the new structure. The power of the clergy was restored and darkness again fell. Even yet, after agonizing struggles to share in the general movement of humanity toward freedom and light, the Spanish mind bears deep traces of the emasculating servitude to which it was subjected by its blind and bigoted loyalty to throne and altar.

DETERIORATION OF NATIONAL CHARACTER

Once a social standpipe has been erected, a people's character is formed, not only by its daily experiences, but also by the models set before it by social superiors. If these should become luxury-loving and soft, their traits might gradually sap the manhood of the people. In Sparta, on the other hand, the military ideal in time caused the hard egoistic type of character to prevail to such a degree as to make true society impossible. Perhaps none are so sedulously patterned after as those who achieve a conspicuous success. If they are seen to get to the top by rapacity, deceit, and corruption, youth will form itself on their bad model. This is why it is not the petty crooks of dive and alley that are most dangerous to society, but the big crooks, who, unwhipped, steal, cheat, or bribe their way to the social dais. Both rob, but the latter also rot the national character, because the rising generation take their ways as proper means of getting on in the world.

THE CRITICAL SPIRIT DISSOLVES SOCIETY INTO EGOS

Among a people like the Athenians, who had to struggle against difficult external conditions and who could not have survived without coöperation, the *we*-feeling is at first strong and general. The next generation, however, secure and prosperous, has no such pressing need of teamwork. The great achievements of the past are piled before their eyes. The national art has reached sublime heights. The less original spirits are tempted to batten on the products of their illustrious predecessors, so that a host of parasites and imitators spring into existence. As for the stronger spirits, they find themselves at odds with national traditions. Perceiving that the heroes and gods of the old dramatists are mythical, they reject the naïve religious and patriotic ideas of the folk. Euripides takes this analytic attitude. In the *Frogs* Aristophanes sets him and Æschylus against each other as representatives of great opposed tendencies. The critical spirit of Euripides, his sarcasm, his ridicule, his fault-finding, all help to dissolve the beliefs that hold people together. He stresses the qualities which distinguish him and other intellectuals from the mass, not the qualities they have in common with them. In Euripides' tragedies we discover that striving after effect and novelty which is the sure symptom of individualistic art.

In the following period the effect of the disintegrative critical spirit working upon a thwarted and war-worn people becomes manifest. Faith in one's fellows, in the high destiny of one's people, is gone. The

accepted aim is to get the most out of life for one's self. Teachers make private life rather than public life the subject of inquiry and precept. The sentiment of patriotism is so weak that mercenaries make up the army. The ardor for liberty has died down. "How much better is it," exclaims Menander, "to be under a good master than to live in poverty and be free!" He also coins the maxim: "He who fights and runs away may live to fight another day." Politics are abandoned by the best classes, and the gifted retire to schools of philosophy. Having lost its folk root the religion of this period is full of strange ceremonies and foreign gods. Temples are no longer built; it is house architecture which now develops. In a word, ancestors, posterity, the group, no longer give life its meaning. The aim is to get the most out of it for me and mine.

PERNICIOUS INFLUENCES SET INSTINCTS ABOVE REASON

A change in the mode of organizing the social mind may open the door to decay. For example, a tendency to *set the lower parts of human nature above the higher* lurks in the leadership of the modern newspaper. The newspaper has a great and growing power over the public mind because it fixes the perspective in which current events are seen by the reader. By controlling the distribution of emphasis in the telling of facts, by stressing day by day one sort of facts and keeping the opposite sort in the background, by giving the news which he wants noticed the front page and bold type, while giving the news he wants overlooked an inside page and nonpareil, the newspaper-owner manufactures the impressions that breed opinion. If he controls a chain of important newspapers, he may virtually make public opinion without the public being aware of it!

Now what he will make it depends upon the conditions of competition in newspaper publishing. Consulting his own interest, the newspaper proprietor is tempted to curry favor with the public by appealing to its foolish prejudices rather than to affront such prejudices and patiently build up in his readers a rational opinion. If he chooses the latter course, his trade rivals will quickly seize their opportunity to lure away his readers by taking the former line; so that, long before he will have educated the public to follow his lead, his rivals will have the circulation and advertising, leaving him with a small but select body of readers plus an approving conscience. In short, "actions which respond to the more primitive feelings and impulses, first thoughts, established prejudice, can be stimulated by the modern

newspaper far more easily than action which is prompted by rationalized second thought."

The remedy is not the curbing of newspapers but the *strengthening of corrective influences*. The *pulpit* addresses itself to the deeper parts of human nature rather than to the more easily awakened instincts. The *teacher* relies on organized information rather than on organized emotion to bring about the reforms he desires. The *writer* of a book more often addresses the reader's intelligence than the newspaper writer, so that the use of public libraries has a steadying effect. *Adult education* through university extension makes for calm judgment on public affairs. The amazing growth of *high schools* promises to contribute greatly to the number of steady-minded people. The spread of *community centers*, where questions of public interest are discussed in a rational and responsible way, is another offset to the newspaper.

THE SUCCESSFUL MAKE THEMSELVES A PRIVILEGED CASTE SO THAT
SOCIETY CEASES TO BE A FAIR FIELD OF STRUGGLE

The *we-feeling* dies out if the social system comes to embody plain injustice. The poor generally do not resent great inequalities in lot, provided society still is fluid and competitive. They comfort themselves with the hope, "If I can't get up, some child of mine will." But the pushful capables who have won their way to power or wealth do their best to throw down the ladders they climbed by, so as to make their sons and grandsons safe from other capables. So the successful wall themselves off, become a hereditary caste, and a sense of injustice spreads among the masses.

We see now why a large and flourishing *middle class* is a guaranty of social health. It means plenty of stepping-stones leading up from bottom to top of society. It means a circulation of individuals between classes, which keeps alive hope in the ambitious youth of the lower orders. Such a middle class mediates between the extreme classes, allowing neither aristocrats nor populace to have its way with the other. It prevents the state from becoming a class-state, and social institutions from becoming mere props of injustice.

The dwindling of the middle class, leaving the people in two camps, is, therefore, an ill omen. On the one hand is a nobility of wealth that, having rid itself of every useful service to society, has given itself up to luxurious enjoyment; on the other, a rough, uncouth, unbridled, and irresponsible peasantry or populace—and no broad bridges lead-

ing from the one to the other. Neither camp feels that the other is a part of "us." Each feels that its interests will be sacrificed if the other gets the upper hand, and will therefore go to any length to gain and to keep power. In a word, the national society is dead, and in its place are, to quote Plato, "two states, the one of poor, the other of rich men; and they are living on the same spot and always conspiring against one another."

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is the idea of social decadence?
2. Show how hitherto city building and national efflorescence have depleted the original eugenic capital of a people.
3. How does the overgrowth of institutions dwarf individuals?
4. How may the ascendancy of the critical spirit bring on social decadence?
5. How may national character deteriorate?
6. What influences set instinct above reason?
7. Show how intrenched hereditary privilege causes social bonds to wither.

EXERCISES

236. What is the gravest symptom presented by American society? Reasons.
237. From the point of view of preventing the growth of caste which is more essential—the diffusion of educational opportunity or the heavy taxation of large inheritances?
238. Do you think we are becoming luxury-loving and soft?
239. Is the crowd-spirit gaining on the sense of individual responsibility?
240. Is the uncurbing of the instincts in the spectators of popular athletic contests deplorable?
241. Is community sentiment (as against egoism, familism, churchism, lodgism) on the whole growing or declining in your locality?
242. What are the conditions most favorable to the production of leaders?
243. Which of the following opinions do you consider *decadent*, i.e., injurious to society itself rather than to certain reigning dogmas? Why?
 - a. Children are a hindrance to a woman's self-development;
 - b. Art is for art's sake;
 - c. Economic changes furnish the key to history;
 - d. Life is not worth living;
 - e. The truth of a statement depends upon whether you can safely act on it (Pragmatism);
 - f. Marriage is a failure;
 - g. The practice of religion is a form of fire insurance;
 - h. Worldly success is a matter of "pull."

CHAPTER XXXVI

TRANSFORMATION

SOME changes in society *happen*; other changes are *willed*. Let us call the former process *transformation*; the latter, *reshaping*. Now, the factors which produce transformation may be distinguished as *static-dynamic processes*, *transmutations*, and *stimuli*, which we shall consider in order.

THE ACCUMULATION OF RESULTS FROM STATIC-DYNAMIC PROCESSES

Certain regular activities leave behind them unintended by-products which in time accumulate and bring to pass social changes. Hunting, by eliminating the less cautious creatures, eventually makes the game scarcer and shyer, so that the tribe may have to look for another food-basis. In the pastoral stage the continual escape of the wilder creatures from the herd and the resultant breeding from the more tractable completes domestication and so paves the way to the adoption of agriculture. Disturbing, also, are operations which modify the physical environment, such as deforestation, the building of dykes, canals, drains, causeways, and roads. Mining, clearing, reclaiming, enclosing, as well as the extermination of pests, have a dynamic effect seeing that they lessen the material they have to work upon. The digging of the precious metals transforms society by making them in time so plentiful that the "money economy" supersedes the "natural economy."

History abounds in striking instances of large changes brought about by processes which left a *little more or less* of something. In the Dark Ages the short-sighted practice of rewarding military services with estates, which, at first granted for life, later became inheritable, eventually dissipated the resources of the Crown and led to feudal decentralization. In the course of centuries the death-bed gifts to religious corporations caused a fifth of the soil of Europe to be accumulated in the "dead hand" and made the Church a huge endowed institution. The oppressive exercise of their justice-of-the-peace powers by the great proprietors of medieval Germany pressed down the peasants one after another into a servile condition, until at last free culti-

vators ceased to exist. The similar practice of Southern justices a few years ago in imposing on negroes arrested on petty charges excessive fines, and binding them to work at a paltry wage for the planter who paid the fine, would in time have subjected the bulk of the Southern negroes to forced labor had not the Federal courts intervened.

TRANSMUTATIONS

Human institutions and relations glide insensibly into forms which would not be assumed of intention. Presents freely given a chief pass into presents expected, even demanded, while volunteered help passes into exacted service. Bank-notes, issued as certificates of deposit of coin and redeemable on demand, come at last to be looked upon as real money, and circulate long after the tradition of the old right of redemption has been lost, and the original deposit dissipated. By an imperceptible process lordship may ripen into property. In India minor officers "were provided for by being allowed to take, in individual villages, the whole or part of the Raja's grain." "In time these claims develop into a landlord right over the village." "The change from revenue-manager to landlord was accomplished in about a century." An ethical religion tends to become external and perfunctory, owing to the fact that its *spirit* is more quickly altered in transmission from father to son than its *form*. The most sacred commands and the most authoritative ideals will be unwittingly deformed if they run counter to human inclination and have not been fixed in writing.

Since the word *evolution* is applied to a series of changes brought about by the operation of resident forces, social changes brought about by *static-dynamic processes* and *transmutations* may therefore properly be termed *social evolution*. These are what sociologists have in mind when they insist that society *evolves*, in fact cannot be prevented from evolving. A society may be so pleased with its institutions that it suffers no willed change—like the Greek city-state which decreed death to any citizen who should propose to alter its constitution—but it cannot arrest *social evolution*. Hence, it had better leave the door open to changes which *adapt* institutions to the new situations which social evolution has brought about.

STIMULI

There are other unwilling social changes the cause of which is to be sought not *in* society but *under* or *outside* society. The growth of population, the production of the man of inventive genius, do not

occur in society but in the people under it. The accumulation of wealth happens in the economic process which underlies men's social relations. The interaction of societies and the cross-fertilization of cultures illustrate how society may be pulled out of its orbit by outside forces. Let us call these factors of social change *stimuli*.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

Increase of numbers changes adversely the relation of population to land, making it harder to gain a livelihood. This stress then incites to new ways of exploiting the physical environment. The advance from the hunting stage to the pastoral awaited the pressure of numbers. Again, it was food-shortage which made man pass over from herdsmanship to tillage.

By causing these economic shifts the growth of population brings on changes in social organization. The adoption of pastoral pursuits converts the savage horde into the tribe, institutes property, establishes male kinship, develops patriarchal authority, favors polygamy and wife-purchase, makes woman a chattel, causes captives to be enslaved instead of eaten, and substitutes the *wergeld* for the blood-feud. The going over to tillage even changes the nature of the social bonds, for "the land becomes the basis of society rather than kinship." Agriculture breaks up the tribe into clans which become village-communities; while the backbreaking toil tempts to slavery and the slave trade. After the adoption of agriculture increase of population does not cease to be a dynamic factor. The land is taken up until at last the poor man must work for wages. When this point is reached slavery and serfdom disappear of themselves, for it is no longer necessary to own laborers in order to have enough of them. Population pressure compels a resort to inferior soils and this, by enhancing the value of the better tracts and increasing the landowner's share of the produce, gives rise to an *agricultural aristocracy*, which, as it withdraws itself from labor and busies itself with war and politics, comes to rule society.

The enlargement of demand in consequence of the growth of numbers often causes an *exchange economy* to take the place of *domestic husbandry*. In some districts the natural resources fall short in certain respects and the local population desire to supply their lack from the larger resources of other districts, sending out in return those products of their own which are to be had in the greatest abundance. Hence arteries of communication are created which, in turn, promote the territorial division of labor. Besides thus calling into being merchants,

markets, and movements of goods, increase of numbers causes local groups of craftsmen to spring up producing articles formerly demanded in quantities too small to set up currents of trade. In place of periodical fairs appear now town populations regularly exchanging their wares with the country.

The need of better security for goods on routes traversing many local jurisdictions creates a demand for royal protection and cements that alliance of burghers with king which is so potent in humbling the feudal lords. In his struggle with the barons the king chooses from the burghers of the town his agents and servants, and the chief of these, ennobled by royal patent, take their places alongside the old territorial aristocracy.

The towns which arose in the Middle Ages to meet the economic needs of an expanding population gave rise to fresh social and political developments. The feudal manor stood for constraint; the town, for freedom. Outside the town the workers were serfs and labor was despised; inside, labor was respected and the worker had pride in his work. Outside, fighting and working were distinct occupations; inside, one wrought or fought as occasion required. Outside was caste; inside, men were in free and fluid relations. Moreover, town life develops a social mind more impressible and plastic than that of the open country. Outworn traditions and narrow local sentiments meet and cancel one another. The shutters of the intellect are taken down. The mind becomes supple and alert. Freed from the net of kin ties and class fealty the *individual* appears. The town is therefore a hot-bed, where seed-ideas quickly germinate. It places itself at the head of the social procession and sets the pace for the country-dwellers.

Less traditional than the country, the city appraises men according to some present fact—their *achievement* or their *wealth*, rather than according to their *ancestry*. It is plutocratic or democratic in temper, whereas the countryside believes devoutly in family. In the city, people consume, as it were, in one another's presence, and hence they vie in expenditure more than country folk do. This intensifies competition, whets egoism, and restricts the size of the family.

THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH

General prosperity is a dynamic factor. Production expands not along the entire line but chiefly in the higher grades of goods, and in comforts and luxuries. This results in the transfer of labor and capital from certain occupations to others, from extractive industries to elabo-

rative industries, from the fabricating of goods to the rendering of services. There will be some shift of population from country to city and from centers and regions producing necessities to centers and regions producing luxuries. So far as augmented production goes for capital-building, the sacredness of property will be emphasized in morals and law, while there will be wider support of government as a property-protecting institution.

With more goods to consume there is more dread of vice, so that morals is less concerned with restraining one from aggression and more concerned with fortifying one against temptations to over-indulgence. Economic ease causes human depravity to be doubted and undermines belief in the "lake of fire and brimstone." The God of Fear yields to the God of Love.

In accumulation some will distance others, and these rich may become eventually a distinct social class. Almost inevitably great wealth translates itself into political power, legal privileges, and social prestige. "The heroes of the Homeric poems," says Maine, "are not only valiant but wealthy; the warriors of the *Nibelungenlied* are not only noble, but rich. In the later Greek literature we find pride of birth identified with pride in seven wealthy ancestors." Owning a horse, so as to be able to fight from horseback instead of on foot, has been the germ of every knighthood.

With economic quality vanishes that primitive political equality of citizens based upon their equal value in defending the commonwealth. The poorer citizens slip into a position of economic dependence while clients and retainers multiply. Meanwhile the rich give themselves up to martial exercises and war and, since they are well accoutred and expert in wielding weapons, they often prove themselves more than a match for the *plebs*.

Wealth inequalities lead to civic inequalities. Service in the Roman cavalry, at first obligatory upon every man who could furnish two horses, became after a time a badge of superiority. "Young men of rank more and more withdrew from serving in the infantry, and the legionary cavalry became a close aristocratic corps." By the time of Sulla the dying out of the sturdy farmer class and the formation of an urban rabble had converted the Roman army "from a burgess force into a set of mercenaries who showed no fidelity to the state at all and proved faithful to the officer only when he had the skill personally to gain their attachment." Finally the rich came to feel that it was a shame that they should have to do anything they disliked. In

Cæsar's time "in the soldiery not a trace of the better classes could any longer be discovered. In law the general obligation to bear arms still subsisted; but the levy took place in the most irregular and unfair manner. . . . The Roman burgess cavalry now merely vegetated as a sort of mounted noble guard, whose perfumed cavaliers and exquisite high-bred horses only played a part in the festivals of the capital; the so-called burgess infantry was a troop of mercenaries swept together from the lowest ranks of the burgess population."

Under great pecuniary inequality the notion establishes itself after a time that *human worth is measured, not by one's achievements or personal merits, but by one's scale of expenditure*. This lifts pecuniary racing above all other forms of rivalry and spreads a foolish luxury through the upper circles of society. Percolating down through the social strata artificial wants divert a large part of income from the service of real human needs. In all classes the craving for wealth is raised to an extravagant pitch, while everything else is lowered in value. Very clearly is this to be seen in the decline of the Roman republic after the slave economy had wiped out the middle class. Says Mommsen:

To be poor was not merely the sorest disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime; for money the statesmen sold the state and the burgess sold his freedom; the post of the officer and the vote of the juryman were to be had for money; for money the lady of quality surrendered her person as well as the common courtesan; the falsifying of documents and perjuries had become so common that in a popular poet of this age an oath is called "the plaster for debts." Men had forgotten what honesty was; a person who refused a bribe was regarded, not as an unright man, but as a personal foe. There was nothing to bridge over or soften the fatal contrast between the world of the beggars and the world of the rich. The wider the chasm by which the two worlds were externally divided, the more completely they coincided in the like annihilation of family life . . . in the like laziness and luxury, the like unsubstantial economy, the like unmanly dependence, the like corruption differing only in its scale, the like criminal demoralization, the like longing to begin the war with property.

Wealth which wells up at new spots or comes into new hands is a great upsetter. The first full-fledged aristocracy develops on the basis of revenue from land. If, however, by the side of the territorial nobles there forms a considerable body of plebeian rich, the social structure is sure to be warped. It matters not whether the source

of these fortunes be piracy, commerce, colonial exploitation, tax-farming, or finance; money is a power which assumes super-economic forms. The fall of the early Greek aristocracies was due to the fortunes made in commerce, shipping, and manufacture. Absorbed in war and politics the well-born were confronted by new men who by clearing and enclosure, sometimes by marriage, had become owners of landed estates. The assault of these upstarts on the political monopoly of the nobles began the movement which ended in democracy. In our time the strong trend toward democracy which manifests itself in the societies which have grown up in new countries outside of Europe, such as North America, Australasia, and Siberia, owes much to the diffusion of opportunities to own property brought about by access to free land.

THE INTERACTION OF SOCIETIES

The action of one society upon another by way of *commerce*, *migration*, or *war* may cause social change. *Commerce* between societies hitherto self-sufficing makes them depend upon each other for certain goods. The balance of occupations within society is upset and this may lead to institutional changes. All through Asia trade with Europe and America is destroying the native arts. In the fifteenth century the demand from the Continent for English wool resulted in the conversion of fields into sheep pastures, the inclosure of much common land, the raising of rents, the eviction of customary tenants, an oversupply of labor and the freeing of the villeins from their hereditary bondage. Negro slavery would never have gotten such a hold on our South had not Europe stood ready to absorb cotton in unlimited quantities and to pay for it with manufactured goods, which slave labor is so unfitted to produce.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, emigration played no small part in the transformation of Europe. The settling of vast fertile tracts in the New World by these emigrants, coupled with steam transportation, developed an overseas competition which, by depressing agricultural profits in the Old World, lessened the landlord's share of the produce. The rent receiver prospered less than laborer and capitalist, with the result that the political and social domination of the landowning class was broken.

Let one consider how we should have been transformed had we admitted Orientals as freely as we admitted Europeans. The presence here of ten million Chinese and Japanese would have acted like a con-

tinental upheaval, changing classes, institutions, relations, ideals—everything!

Still more momentous are the changes brought about by *warfare* between societies. Fighting on the same side promotes not only political unity, but religious unity as well. So long as they dwelt undisturbed in Canaan, the children of Israel succumbed constantly to the seduction of the local Baal cults; but whenever danger united them against a common foe, their loyalty to Jehovah, the god of their nomad life, was revived. Their wars prevented their assimilation to the Canaanites and the consequent failure of their religious career.

War, moreover, creates headships which may become permanent. The Hebrew monarchy began in this way. During peace Saul returned to his own estate and lived there with a few followers. David's conquests and successes, however, gave the monarchy that solidity which enabled his son Solomon to supplant the tribal with the civil organization, lay taxes, force labor, conscript troops, establish a court and create a new nobility. The Germanic invasions united the kingship with the leadership of the army, which had become permanent. The Crusades, which were preached under the auspices of the popes, tended to aggrandize the papal authority within the Church. The grinding of people against people not only merges the civil with the military power, but may unite state with church as we see in the case of Spain and Russia.

Chronic and profitless warfare waged by levies of freeholders ruins the middle class. The exhausting duel between Israel and Damascus produced the evil state of things which aroused the reforming prophets, Amos and Hosea. The little farmers lost their lands during their absence in the field, and on their return debt crushed them into slavery. Great estates took the place of small holdings and the poor became dependent on the rich.

Sometimes a defensive struggle raises an oppressed class. Taking advantage of a military crisis which caused jailed debtors to be released to fight the foe, the Roman *plebs* extorted from the patricians the creation of tribunes to protect the rights of plebeians. Again, remote military adventure may waste and weaken the ruling caste. The Crusades rid Europe of many rough bullying nobles who were making order and industry well-nigh impossible. The decimation of the petty baronage under the pressure of debt, battle and disease, threw more power into

the hands of the king's officials. Taking advantage of the Crusader's need of cash, the towns bought immunities of him, and the abbeyes and priories took a mortgage on his estate.

THE CONTACT AND CROSS-FERTILIZATION OF CULTURES

A society may quit its natural orbit by borrowing institutions which have originated in some other society. The Christian Church, Roman law, the feudal tenure, parliamentary government, the jury system, and the federal principle spread far beyond their original habitat. The centralized government of Louis XIV found imitators all over Europe. The spectacle of free institutions across the Channel was fatal to the Bourbons in France. The abolition of serfdom, as now the woman's movement and social legislation, spread largely by national example. A social evolution obeying resident forces has nearly disappeared from the face of the earth, seeing that to-day the germs of every new social innovation are blown throughout the world, so that peoples at every stage of culture are affected by the jurisprudence, the laws, and the organization of the advanced societies.

Usually, however, the peoples have rejected alien *institutions*, but borrowed alien *elements of culture*, which, nevertheless, in time are likely to work social transformations. When a backward people is in contact with a highly cultured one, there occurs simple borrowing, but when the peoples are nearly abreast on different lines of development, one fructifies the other and a higher culture results. Just as the crossing of two strains may yield a creature superior to either, so the crossing of two cultures in the minds of an *élite* may initiate a superior civilization. Thus the meeting of Orient and Occident engendered neo-Platonism, and the mutual fertilization of Christian tradition and classic culture by the Revival of Learning produced the Renaissance.

THE INNOVATING INDIVIDUAL

Ideas born of gifted minds produce most of the changes in society which are progressive. For the most part, these transforming ideas are either the *industrial-martial inventions* or the *religio-scientific innovations*, the reason being that these are *condition-making*. Since there is no herdsmanhood without the training of animals, no agriculture without the domestication of plants, no water communication without the boat, invention had much to do with that expansion of population or of wealth which I have shown to be so pregnant with social change. The

inventions pertaining to warfare—chariot, armor, Greek fire, gun powder, machine-gun—have been fateful for the survival of the more ingenious races and for all forms of domination.

Next in importance are the inventions which have facilitated transportation and communication—wheeled vehicle, boat, sail, compass, rail, steam, airplane, wireless. These call into being cities, promote diffusions and comminglings of races, hasten crossings of cultures and blendings of blood, abolish frontiers, make possible vast political units and supersede local association by national, even international, association. More than this, they quicken progress by spreading *everywhere* good new ideas which arise *anywhere*; so that every section of mankind is served not only by its own inventive spirits, but by the productive geniuses of the whole race. Last come the condition-making inventions embodied in languages, sciences, and speculations. Languages support the inter-mental activities by which like-mindedness spreads. The physical sciences further the progress of mechanical invention. Speculations about the Unseen determine to what extent men's groupings and institutions shall acquire sanctity by being bound up with the gods. The revolutions in ideas wrought by founders of religion reverberate in society almost as much as the revolutions in production wrought by mechanical inventors.

In some cases, however, a new institution or relation springs directly from the individual mind. The Hebrew prophets who originated worship without sacrifice, and the Reformers who proclaimed "justification by faith," consciously severed the tie that binds layman to priest. Cæsar was a social inventor when he established the principle that insolvency shall not cost the debtor his freedom. So was St. Paul when he conceived that the gospel was for Gentiles as well as for Jews. So was St. Benedict when he devised the "Rule" that gave form to the thousand monastic communities of Western Europe. So was Hildebrand when he imposed sacerdotal celibacy upon the Church. Pythagoras, St. Francis, and Loyola originated new types of religious confraternity. Henry IV instituted the invalid soldiers' home. Grotius modified the relations of nations. Robert Raikes invented the Sunday school; Toynbee, the social settlement; Le Claire, the profit-sharing group; Raffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch, the coöperative credit association; Pinel and Tuke, the modern insane hospital; Marbeau, the *crèche*; Howard and his successors, the reformatory; Barnardo, boys' work; George, the Junior Republic; Leverhulme, the "garden city"; the Hetheringtons, the "play school."

TRANSFORMATIONS OF OUR TIME

Ours is a tumultuously dynamic epoch. Never before has the bulk of mankind been required to adapt itself so quickly to great changes in underlying conditions. Of these changes the chief *primary* factors are :

1. The wide introduction of machinery and mechanical power.
2. Great improvements in the means of transportation and communication.
3. The application of science to the destruction of human beings in warfare.
4. Discovery of many means of combating disease and saving human life.
5. The cheapness of printed matter.
6. The social policy of universal education.
7. Adoption of the scientific method in all inquiry.
8. The establishment of the fact of *evolution* in all fields.

The more *immediate* factors of contemporary social change are derived roughly as follows :

- a. The growth of cities; from 1, 2, 4, and 5.
- b. The extensive fixation of capital; from 1.
- c. Great-scale industry; from 1, 2, and a.
- d. Appearance of a leisure class founded on income from industrial capital rather than on the profits of commercial capital or the rent of land; from b and c.
- e. Immense displacements of population by voluntary migration; from 2, 5, and 6.
- f. Intermingling of dissimilar races and discordant cultures; from 2 and e.
- g. Rise in the plane of popular intelligence; from 2, 5, and 6.
- h. A higher standard of living; from 1, 2, a, and g.
- i. Weakening of the authority of religion; from 7, 8, and g.
- j. The voluntary limitation of the size of the family; from 4, g, h, and i.
- k. Acquisition of political power by the popular classes; from g, h, and i.

With so many ferments at work it is not surprising that for the whites the world has changed more in the last hundred years than in the previous thousand years. Nay, one can go farther. One can safely aver that since the outbreak of the Chino-Japanese war, a quarter of a

century ago, the situation of the white race with respect to other races has changed more than in the three centuries preceding. Thanks to overseas commerce and colonial exploitation, races formerly ignorant of one another's existence have been jostled together and have to make up their minds whether it is to be peace or war.

Ideas, standards, and policies are quite as real entities as howitzers and motor trucks, for they determine men's actions. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to perceive when an idea, standard or policy is out of date and deserves to be scrapped as it is to perceive when a machine is out of date and deserves to be scrapped. Consequently the great majority of men are holding to ideas, standards and policies which they learned from their parents or adopted in their youth, but which are unsuited to the changed situation.

For example, now that the necessities of life are in the channels of trade, the merchant should not expect to be left as free from regulation as he was in the days when trade was chiefly in luxuries. More and more a concern engaged in supplying the public with a necessary will be looked upon as a public instrumentality and will be obliged to accept certain responsibilities. Those who insist that it is merely a private venture can only make trouble for themselves and for others.

A generation ago the courts began to recognize that certain businesses are "affected with a public interest." In the eyes of the sociologist *all* considerable enterprises supplying us with essential goods or services are "affected with a public interest," and may properly be restrained from arbitrarily discriminating among their customers and from extorting a profit out of proportion to the value of the services they render.

Now that handworkers can read and write, have votes, unions, rising standards of living, and ambitions for their children, employers should not expect to make, according to their own good pleasure, decisions affecting the safety, health, and income of their employees. Industrial autocracy is as out-of-date as a hauberk. The time is ripe for limited constitutional monarchy in the factory. Yet owners who inherit their ideas of property from the handicraft stage imagine that their autocratic control rests on Divine right.

In these days of close-knit economic interdependence among nations and universal publicity, for a nation to cultivate the naïve ego-centrism which prevailed in the stage of national self-sufficiency indicates that it does not realize what kind of a world it is living in. In a time when, owing to economic interlacement, war spreads like a

forest fire, the statesman who contends for the ancient unqualified right of sovereign states to fight out their disputes without hindrance shows that he has not adjusted his ideas to the contemporary situation.

The means of destruction have been developed far beyond the means of self-protection. Yet the race or nation which is, for the time being, stronger ignores this fact and confidently indulges in a high-handed domination engendering an ill-will that may later prove devastating. For example, no one who knows the Asiatic peoples believes that the present subjection of Asiatics to Europeans can endure. Machine industry, science, schools, newspapers, and agitation will rouse these long-civilized peoples as they have roused the upstart-peoples of Europe. Before the end of this century, probably every vestige of European eminent-domain in Asia will have vanished. But whether it will be relinquished peaceably or will go down in blood and flame depends on whether European power-holders can adjust their ideas to the realities of to-day and to-morrow.

The prospect ahead is dazzling. Science and invention have put mankind in possession of the means of ridding themselves forever of plague, famine, penury, overpopulation, ignorance, superstition, priestcraft, fanaticism, despotism, slavery, and caste. They have only to do *everywhere* what is now being done with success *somewhere*. But men's ideas of human relations are those of an earlier and simpler time. In many ways their traditions block their seizing the opportunities for good will, peace, enlightenment, and social progress which beckon them. Their conduct and policies have not been accommodated to the rapidly developing social situation, so that at many points we perceive class animosity, national antagonism, or race antipathy growing up. Explosives are being heaped up just as they were heaped up in Europe during the thirty years before 1914. To come into the promised land humanity has to negotiate a perilous "knife-edge" and humanity *may fail!*

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What are static-dynamic processes?
2. Give illustrations of important social changes brought about by such processes.
3. What are transmutations?
4. What is social evolution?
5. What is meant by *stimuli*?
6. How does the growth of population cause social change?
7. Show how the products of wealth differences poison society.
8. How may migration produce dynamic effects?

9. Illustrate the cross-fertilization of cultures.
10. What are the primary factors of the transformations of our time?
11. Show that to-day *willed* change is lagging behind *unwilled* change.

EXERCISES

244. What social changes going on in this country are chiefly attributable to the increase of population?
245. Name four mechanical inventions of the last fifty years which have had important social effects. *automobile, radio.*
246. Name four others equally important in their economic effects but relatively unimportant in their social effects. *radio, airplane, adding machine, typewriter.*
247. Show in what ways scientific advertising is a factor of social change.
248. Show in what ways the motion film is a factor of social change. *change*
249. What social changes follow the introduction of good roads into a rural community? *associate with other communities - not dependent on com.*
250. What are the social consequences of the easier access of women to the industries and professions?
251. Is the average American intellect more or less dynamic now than it was a century ago? Reasons. *yes - more intercourse*
252. What unwilled factors of change are likely to dominate the near future of American society? *radio - wireless - communication*

block electric system for signaling

steel lighter than water a teamship

make a list of activities for man-
regulation.
Does gov. should reg-
to control.

CHAPTER XXXVII

RE-SHAPING

ARE we limited to such social ameliorations as come of themselves or may we intervene to bring about or hasten desired changes? One object in the study of living forms is to discover ways of improving the useful species of plant and animal. We search for the laws of physical forces in order, by means of machinery, to harness them to the service of man. With microscope and tube and stain we probe the life history of microorganisms in the hope of devising means of protecting our race against these invisible enemies. Why, then, is it not legitimate to sound social phenomena in the hope of discovering how to mold them to our wishes? We wipe out small-pox, typhus, diphtheria, the bubonic plague—why should we not endeavor to banish such social maladies as pauperism, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, child exploitation, trampery, mob violence, family disintegration, religious, bigotry and race antagonism?

Indeed, attack upon the maladjustments among men is an inevitable consequence of the development of social science. What is the use of working out causes and effects, of discovering how things hang together in society, if we are to do nothing with this knowledge? In this time of quick and easy dissemination of ideas are we to content ourselves with the tardy and uncertain improvements brought about by blind social evolution?

This is not new and untried doctrine. Long ago the social will began to interfere with the natural course of things. One of the oldest controls of human relations is pair marriage. One can hardly imagine a bolder interference with private matters—yet few wish to abandon it and leave men and women to assume to one another such relations as they individually choose.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF "DO NOTHING"

The *let-alone* social philosophy, which expects the state to protect individuals in their rights but not to suppress noxious social phenomena, would require us to allow the lottery to return, to cease from interfer-

ing with the circulation of salacious books and pictures, to give up the suppression of Mormon polygamy, to let the Spanish bull-fight acclimatize itself among us, and to fold our hands while saloon and bawdy house, animated by boundless greed, do their utmost to break down the good habits which home and school and church have been at endless pains to build up.

Let-alone was the philosophy wrought out by honest European thinkers, wishful of social progress, who thought nothing would help so much as the removal of such barriers and hindrances to the operation of beneficent, social forces as imprisonment for debt, the established church, laws against the combination of workmen, protective tariffs, restraints on trade, and the poor laws.

However, it chimed with the policy of the propertied to insist that their success came to them in a "natural" order and owed nothing to laws and institutions. Possessing the legal rights which most suited their pecuniary interests, it was good tactics for them to dissuade from the use of appropriate remedies on behalf of the unpropertied, to cry down laws, to insist on their futility and impotency as against "natural" law, and to make much of the failure of badly-drawn laws, unworkable laws, and laws which were never enforced, to produce the results hoped for.

THE DISCREDITING OF DO-NOTHING

The *let-alone* social philosophy reached the zenith of its ascendancy in the third quarter of the last century. Then its power over minds began to be broken down, partly by the success and extension of such bold enterprises of social reconstruction as the German workingmen's insurance legislation, partly by the criticisms of Lester F. Ward, the great champion of developing the science of society for the purpose of giving society control over its own future.

Do-nothingism is now in utter discredit by reason of the number of successes which stand to the account of the do-something policy. Among these are:

1. Universal education at the public expense.
2. Workingmen's insurance.
3. The provision of public libraries.
4. Public provision of facilities for recreation.
5. Restriction of the industrial labor of children.
6. Reformative treatment of juvenile and first offenders.

It may be that the ultimate effect of these policies will belie the effects

which have so far disclosed themselves. It is certain, however, that societies which have adopted these policies show no sign of turning back, but rather move onward in the same path. Continually they perfect and extend them while other societies, after looking into their results, adopt them. If these are not proofs of success, it would be hard to know what should constitute such proof.

There are other controls of social phenomena which are too recent to be regarded as fixed and settled, but which give strong indications of permanence. Among these are:

1. The suppression of alcoholism, gaming, and prostitution.
2. Housing regulation and city planning.
3. The control of immigration.
4. The legal minimum wage.
5. Public employment bureaus.
6. Instruction of the young in sex.
7. Interference with the reproduction of the unfit.

These bold experiments in the scientific shaping of social destiny have, to say the least, not proven disastrous. The peoples which have ventured on these measures have added to their longevity and lessened their sickness, mortality and loss of infant life to a degree before unknown. The comparison of the heights, weights and intellectual performance of school children shows that those peoples have the brightest outlook for the next generation which have been the most enterprising in applying intelligence to the removal of social ills.

Violation to human nature. CANONS OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

While such facts encourage us to remold society nearer to our heart's desire, there is little prospect of success in such an undertaking unless certain precautions are observed:

1. *Reforms must not do violence to human nature.* Proposals for having women in common, which have cropped up among Utopists ever since Plato proposed it, ignore the existence of male sexual jealousy. Of the sixty-odd communities which have been launched in the United States all failed save those on a religious basis, because not sufficient allowance had been made for the greed and self-assertion of the ordinary unsanctified human being. Attempts to live in one big building, the Fourier phalanstery, collided with the general craving for domestic privacy. Proposals for the state guardianship of children have failed to meet with favor because they outraged the parental instinct.

2. *Reforms must square with essential realities, if they are to succeed.* The anarchism of Kropotkin and Tolstoi was drawn from observation of the process of spontaneous human adjustment in the Russian rural village and is unsuited to the expanded economic society of to-day. Coöperative production has disappointed expectations because business management is more difficult than it was supposed to be. The settlement of city families upon the land fails, not from inherent difficulty, but because not enough guidance and credit have been provided for the inexperienced settler. The Russian Bolsheviki at first quite underrated the rôle of managers and technical experts in production and were eventually obliged to lure them back into the factories by high pay and the promise of a free hand.

3. *Intervention should be preceded by a close study of the situation it is proposed to control.* The aspiration to create a "science" of society has had the effect of importing into the study of social conditions the methods of exact observation in the field, counting, measurement, induction, and verification, all of which had been worked out in the older sciences. As a result, contemporary society intervenes not on the basis of brilliant dreams and guesses, but on the basis of comprehensive, thorough, and impartial investigation. Whether it be a legislature creating a system of vocational education, a religious denomination contemplating the resuscitation of the country church, a philanthropic association forging a program on behalf of the rural young people, a wealthy foundation confronting the problem of promoting public health, or a great industrial concern under the necessity of gaining the good will of its employees, policy waits upon the results of a survey of the situation by experts. Some of the great modern pieces of social legislation prepared by commissions after elaborate inquiry and deliberation are veritable monuments of scientific lawmaking.

4. *If possible a reform should be tried out on a small scale before being adopted on a large scale.* It is fortunate that the large number of commonwealths in the American Union permits one state to experiment for the other forty-seven. One state or another makes a new departure in the way of a minimum wage for women, abolition of private employment bureaus, "mothers' pensions," the "social evil," probation of adult first offenders, the juvenile court, municipal ownership, factory sanitation, the surgical sterilization of degenerates. Other states watch eagerly the results of the experiment and follow suit if the results are encouraging. It is significant that reforms which have had the support of the leaders in social work have not failed at their

try-out, but have been adopted, with modification perhaps, by other states.

5. *Every fundamental social reform should be the outcome of a social movement.* The most egregious failures have been reforms introduced from above without that preliminary process of agitation and education by which understanding of and sympathy for the reform are created. The cause of education is not advanced merely by multiplying schools. Usually there is need of a campaign which shall plant belief in and desire for education in young people and their parents. Public health interference with the habits of a people is usually futile unless at least two-thirds of the people understand why the habits are bad. The legal suppression of the liquor traffic would be impossible but for the vast public agitation which has been carried on for a generation. The creating of playgrounds is by no means the principal part of the recreation movement. The main thing is the spread of the gospel of play. It is because the people have been taken into the confidence of the reformers that so many modern reforms have produced the hoped-for results.

6. *Under a popular government reform should never be sought save by legal and constitutional methods.* Often, no doubt, the adoption of a reform which is actively opposed by an influential social class is delayed long past the time when it is due. Perhaps a whole generation is defrauded of its just remedy. Why then, should not an intelligent, coherent minority, conscious of the disinterestedness of its aims, seize power by a quick stroke and put through its beneficent program? True, the majority of the people, divided and duped, perhaps, by a church and a press secretly subservient to the intrenched class, by political parties cunningly manipulated to keep the people amused by sham battles over trifles, are not with the reformers; but they will be, once they have sampled the good things in store for them. The Puritans were a minority which dared to go ahead when the bulk of the English people were quite below the threshold of political consciousness. The Jacobins saved the French Revolution because they did not stand in awe of a politically inert majority. The independence of the Spanish colonies in America was achieved by an energetic element which did not wait for the support of the ignorant and dispirited masses. Indeed, have not the greatest new departures in history been the work of a determined, consecrated group which, unlike the indifferent and nerveless majority, were ready to risk their lives for their ideas?

The answer to such reasoning lies in the effects upon society of

catastrophic change. In the words of Professor Ellwood, who has reached valuable generalizations about revolutions:

The revolutionary party is rarely united upon a constructive social program. Hence, a period of social confusion and uncertainty, which is intensified if the overthrow of the old order has been sudden or by violent means. This may result in a general breakdown in the habits of social order in a large proportion of the population. . . . Now, there is always a tendency in an individual to reversion to simple animal-like activities following the complete breakdown of a habit. This tendency becomes more pronounced if the breakdown of the old habit is accompanied by violence. So in the social life, if the breakdown of old habits and institutions is accompanied by a struggle between classes, there is apt to be a reversion of the whole social life to a barbarous or even animal level; for fighting, as one of the most primitive activities, greatly stimulates all the lower centers of action. Hence, revolutionary periods give opportunity for the brute and savage in man to reassert themselves and to dominate many phases of the social life. The methods of attaining ends in revolutions are, therefore, often characteristic of much lower stages of culture. They are apt to be unreflective, extremely direct and crude. The resort to brute force is constant, and when attempts are made at psychical control it is usually through terrorism.

The violent seizure of power by one class, to accomplish its ends, can rarely take place without bloody conflicts between classes. This releases, as we have already seen, the primitive instincts of man which civilization with such difficulty controls. Violence, therefore, can rarely be successfully employed in the higher stages of civilization without defeating the very ends for which it is employed. Its employment starts a process of rebarbarization which is absolutely destructive of those higher social values which civilization has so painfully built up, and by which men have slowly learned to regulate their conduct. If long continued, then, violence must result in the total destruction of anything worthy to be called civilization. The method of social change through revolution must be regarded, therefore, as involving too grave risks to be tolerated by an intelligent people, if it is avoidable.

The conclusion is irresistible that violent social change is a desperate policy which has no place where speech is free and elections are honest. Any good thing which might be established by the arms of a minority will, within a few years, be voted in by the majority, if only its friends will keep agitating. Therefore the unpardonable sin in a would-be reformer is *impatience*. To defy the verdict of the count, when that count is the only thing which commands general reverence, is to invite chaos. The principle that the duly ascertained will of

the majority should prevail and that if a certain minority has the right idea it will be able to make itself the majority is the only safe principle to follow. In the end society will get on faster on this principle than on any other. The true reformer gets out into the arena and battles stubbornly for his ideas, takes political defeat submissively and good-naturedly, comes up smiling for the next bout, and perseveres until he has won over the majority or sees that he has been in the wrong.

But the boot is on the other foot if a dominant social class lays rude hands upon the mechanism by which social readjustments are peacefully accomplished. Serious and persistent interference with public criticism, free discussion, the spontaneous formation of public opinion, association for political ends, the free selection of policies and leaders, leaves force as the sole means of bringing to pass needed social change. It is now the foes of reform, rather than its friends, who are in the wrong. By violating the conditions on the strength of which we bid reformers to abjure all thought of hastening their reforms by violence, they have put themselves outside the social pact. Morally they have not a leg to stand on and deserve to be treated as any other band of stranglers.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is the purpose of studying social phenomena?
2. What would we have to do if we held consistently to the *let-alone* principle?
3. What was the origin of the *let-alone* doctrine?
4. What has discredited this doctrine?
5. Show that some proposed reforms do violence to human nature.
6. What are the "canons of social reconstruction"?
7. Why should every fundamental reform be the outcome of a social movement?
8. Show the danger of following the short-cut of violence in order to bring about beneficent social reform.

EXERCISES

253. What may a society consciously do in order to prevent the race intellect from becoming arrested and unfruitful under the spell of admiration for past achievement and past success?
254. What reasons are there for expecting that the control of immigration will be undertaken by all the advanced societies?
255. Do you know of any reforms urged nowadays which fly in the face of human nature?
256. What practical conclusion about making social alterations flows from the proposition that "Sociology is not an exact science"?
257. Are society's interferences (by public opinion or by laws) with matings and child production and child rearing likely to multiply? Reasons.

PART IV
SOCIAL PRODUCTS

CHAPTER XXXVIII

UNIFORMITIES

ONE grand outcome of the social processes is that there is *uniformity* where there was *diversity*. In prehistoric times mankind must have comprised thousands of racial stocks which, although springing originally from a small number of parent stems, had gradually become more or less differentiated physically from long continuance in diverse natural environments. The formation of larger and yet larger societies, however, has facilitated displacement, migration, crossing and blending, the result being that innumerable kindreds and peoples have disappeared by amalgamation, leaving a small number of great races counting tens of millions, yea, even hundreds of millions, of human beings.

STRUGGLE AND SURVIVAL AMONG CULTURES

Incipient cultures have been merged as well as incipient races. Consider the destiny of the civilization of those Chinese who more than thirty centuries ago came down the Valley of the Wei River into Shantung. It has been spread and spread until half a billion people in Eastern Asia light their tapers at its flame. Uncounted savage tribes and barbarian hordes have succumbed to its influence. Nestorian Christianity came, flourished for a time, and vanished. The Jews of Kaifêng-fu lost their language and their religion and became Chinese in all but physiognomy. The conquering Manchus have forgotten their language and literature. "China," it has been finely said, "is a sea which salts everything which flows into it."

Or take the Near East. What wealth of contrast would have been noted in Homer's day in the country between Bokhara and Morocco! But the Saracen flood passed over it and now it has the sameness of an ancient beach from which the sea has retired. No sooner is one south of the Caucasus than the eye notes such characteristic "Eastern" features as

shaven heads and mustachios, instead of the full beard; the middle girt by the gay sash or the fancy ornamental belt; brimless caps of lambskin and

huge black mantles of shaggy felt; embroidered heelless slippers or soft-soled boots; baggy cotton trousers tied in at the ankles; strings of beads for the man's idle hands to play with; merchants sitting cross-legged on beautiful hand-woven rugs; barefoot, veiled women and women draped with festoons of coins; finger nails and grizzling beards stained with henna; shepherds who look as if they live on locusts and wild honey; importunate beggars with the air of having an assured social position; diminutive donkeys, Biblical asses, camels of the desert and slow-moving oxen at the plow; draft animals bedecked about the head with beads to avert the evil eye; heifers treading out the grain on threshing floors; white-washed mud huts with flat roofs; domed marabouts, and Moorish architecture.

Could one have aviated about the earth, say fifteen thousand years ago, when the cultures of Egypt and Babylonia were in their infancy, one would have come upon thousands of isolated petty societies each with its more or less distinctive tools, weapons, speech, folkways, standards, and cult, embodying the experience which generations of men had accumulated in a particular locality. Since then differencing forces have been active as well as assimilating forces, but the latter have been stronger. The net result is that to-day we find mankind aggregated into half a hundred political units and threescore or fourscore self-conscious nationalities, while nine-tenths of them speak some one of a score of leading tongues and adhere to one or another of half a dozen great religions.

THE EXTENSION OF PLANES OF UNIFORMITY

In other words, communicating men tend to gravitate into a common plane of belief or practice. In early times only those of the same group, the same stock, or the same valley fell into these common planes. But culture gains radiant energy until such elements as the Arabic speech, the written characters of China, the religion of Islam, and the game of chess overcome all rival culture elements in their neighborhood and draw myriads of people into one plane. The improvement of communication causes such planes to form on an ever vaster scale. Never before our time has a convention, like the dress suit, or a sport, like tennis, or a convenience, like the sewing machine, been so widely diffused over the earth. Civilization, which once was *fluvial*—as on the Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Hoang Ho; then *maritime*—as on the Persian Gulf, the Ægean, the Mediterranean, the Yellow Sea; then *oceanic*

—as was possible after Columbus and Magellan; has lately become *planetary*.

If a truth like the rotundity of the earth becomes established in men's minds, the resulting plane of agreement never breaks up. But the planes laid down by partial truths and relative goods are liable to be shattered if something better presents itself. After touching its perigee the Phœnician culture recoiled before the superior Græco-Roman culture. After a certain expansion hieroglyphic writing met a barrier in the spread of the simpler alphabetic writing. The abacus conquered China and Russia, but its empire was doomed by the spread of the practice of "figuring" made possible by the invention of the cipher (0). The formal duel, after gaining vogue with the upper orders everywhere, has largely gone out owing to the decline of the military spirit and the growth of the influence of the popular classes.

CULTURE AND DOMINION

Some things spread everywhere whatever their origin, e.g., coffee, the cross-bow, firearms, printing from movable type, the American saddle. On the other hand, the boundaries between different religions, types of family, and moral codes curiously coincide with the limits of by-gone empire. Hellenic civilization took hold wherever Alexander bore the Greek arms and stopped where he stopped. The line between Latin and Teutonic Europe is strangely reminiscent of the *limes*, or frontier of the Roman Empire. Islam went where the conquering Arab, Turk, or Mogul bore it, rarely farther. There would be to-day no penetration of modern civilization into Japan, India, China, Turkestan, the Caucasus, Northern Africa, and the Soudan if some Western nation had not gone there sword in hand. Had not America become mistress of the Philippines how long would it have been before, by voluntary imitation, the Filipinos would have gained the benefit of such American blessings as public sanitation, compulsory schooling, equality before the law, and representative government? Surely a century or two.

WHY SOME GOOD THINGS NEED TO BE PUSHED

The reason why some good things spread of themselves, whereas other good things do not spread unless they have military or political backing or are subjects of propaganda, depends upon a distinction stated by Keller:

It is not hard to demonstrate to an ignorant person in this country that he should learn to read and write; he can see that by living in this society. Similarly for his interest is it that he shall use the English language. Tests lie all about him and are immediate and decisive. But try to persuade him by abstract argument to give up the vendetta, to renounce anarchistic leanings, or to change his religion, and you fail. There are no immediate and decisive tests at hand. You cannot demonstrate that interest will be subserved by change; you cannot even secure visualization of evil consequences. . . . The more nearly custom represents direct reaction on environment in the actual struggle for material aids to existence, the more rational a test does it undergo; and, conversely, the more derived the societal forms the more clearly do they fall under the tests of tradition rather than reason. . . . You can persuade a savage of the inadequacy of his stone hatchet long before he can be made to see that his family system is capable of being superseded by one yielding better satisfaction to his interests.

This is why superior drinks, foods, narcotics, materials, tools, implements, methods of production, and means of enjoyment make their way rapidly among peoples and races; while superior sex morals, forms of the family, upbringing of children, relations between parents and children, status of social classes, treatment of the weak, relief of the poor, types of recreation, and political institutions make their way slowly or not at all. Since their merit is not so evident and appealing as that of a reaper or a motorcycle, people reject them and persist in their bad old ways. Here again is a justification of the right type of foreign missions, for to-day along with the propagation of the elements of the Christian religion goes propagation of the best moral standards, family type, class relations, civic ideals, educational methods, and governmental policies in the country which sends out the missionary. Missions, therefore, are an infinitely milder and cheaper means of disseminating the higher elements of a superior culture than dominion. The proper relation between force and persuasion is seen in the Far East, where the gun boats of the European powers have but procured for missionaries the opportunity to live, work, and go about without molestation.

The uniformities laid down by certain social processes do not condemn us to become uniform. On the contrary, they provide us with opportunities for a richer diversity. As our own culture borrows from other cultures we have more to choose from. Consider how our literature has been enriched in a century and a half by the addition of

Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Icelandic, Celtic, Finnish, and Ukrainian masterpieces; how the stock of good music has gathered in lovely folk airs from all over the world! The like is true of styles of painting or architecture, philosophical speculations, religious tendencies, theories of life and conduct. A cosmopolitan culture offers in its every department a wealth of elements from which each individual may choose that which appeals most to his nature.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Show the extent to which the homogenizing forces have triumphed in the historical period.
2. Show the extension of planes of uniformity.
3. Show how the diffusion of a higher culture is associated with the extension of empire.
4. What kinds of superior elements of culture need to be pushed?
5. Does the extension of culture planes interfere with the growth of individuality?

EXERCISES

258. How is air navigation likely to affect nationality? The relations of classes?
259. Will it increase or diminish the chances of war?
260. How do you account for the fact that Americans who will cheerfully vote a billion dollars to "clean up" Mexico by force would be horrified at the proposal to "clean up" Mexico by dedicating a tenth of that sum to building twenty thousand good schoolhouses there and giving a course in our universities to an equal number of Mexican youth who might teach in these schoolhouses?

1. Elite group
2. Strong individual because of apparent personality influence.

Read
3 or 4

CHAPTER XXXIX

STANDARDS

BESIDES the planes just described there are planes laid through society by social pressure. Something is believed to involve human welfare, so the group makes it binding upon all. The pattern of conduct society thus gets behind may be called *standard*.

THE IMPORTANCE OF STANDARDS

Standards are, perhaps, the most important things in society. They are intangible, yet the quality of a society is more revealed in its standards than in anything else. The characterizing differences between medieval society and modern society, between Chinese society and American society, may be read in the *standards* which these societies respectively uphold. Culture heroes, founders of religion, prophets, saints, evangelists, reformers, poets, and artists leave a lasting impression on society chiefly by making or modifying its standards. The precipitate of wisdom from experience in living together is passed on by the same means. Let the sociologist but know the standards of a people and he can infer the chief features of their social history.

SOCIETY'S STOCK OF STANDARDS

Wherever a collective mind has been organized, there standards appear. The boys' gang, the underworld, the "sporting" circle, the "smart set," "Bohemia," "Wall Street," the "peculiar" sect, the "colony" of foreign-born, the proletariat, the *bourgeoisie*, forms norms of its own for judging conduct. In case they conflict with the standards enforced in general society, sooner or later strain will develop. One or the other will have to be modified, or else the group in question will stand apart from the rest of society. On the west coast of tropical South America there are three elements in the population—whites, *cholos*, and Indians. Every one is profoundly influenced by the standards of his own element but pays no attention to the standards of the other elements. The whites fix the legal, political, and economic status of the Indians but have almost no influence upon their collective mind.

At a given moment there are *sleeping* standards, which are not thought about until some one violates them, and *live* standards, which occupy the foreground of consciousness. With us the taboos on murder, incest, cannibalism, and slavery are asleep. Among our live standards are that a man should keep a promise made for consideration received, a man should support his wife, a woman should stand by her husband in trouble, chivalry in the treatment of women, deference toward the aged, "put up or shut up," "live and let live," "boost, don't knock," "don't flinch, don't foul, hit the line hard," "let the other fellow have his say," "if you play the game at all, play it for all it is worth." Then there are live taboos—on the marriage of near kin, on the marriage of a white woman with a black man, on sex intimacy outside marriage, on marrying for money, on the public discussion of sex facts.

In our time we have seen successful struggles to fix taboos on liquor selling, adulteration, misleading advertising, the wasteful use of limited natural resources, the working of young children in factories, combinations in restraint of trade, arbitrary discrimination among the patrons of public utilities, black-listing, the use of violence in labor disputes, vote-buying, the bestowal of public office for personal or party reasons, and the secret pledging of candidates for public office. Earlier in our history were established taboos on drinking to excess, gaming, betting, the lottery, dueling, "free love," African slavery, and Mormon polygamy.

WHAT STANDARDS DO

No social product is more momentous than *the standard of living*, because it regulates propagation. It includes those things so keenly desired that, rather than do without them, men will postpone marriage or limit the size of their family. It differs for different classes and among the successful the standard of living is sometimes so high that it actually checks their increase more than the increase of day-laborers is checked by *their* standard of living. From the social point of view it is desirable that among the mass the standard should be high enough to prevent the increase of numbers absorbing all the fruits of economic progress, while among the rising it should not be so high as to lessen the proportion their stock contributes to the series of generations.

Pattern types, the man-as-he-should-be, the woman-as-she-should-be, are active forces in society, directing the development of individual character. Each age gets its slant from the dominant pattern. In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. the man-as-he-should-be was a religious

ascetic. In Charlemagne's time and yet more during the Crusades the knight was the man-as-he-should-be. Sumner writes:

In modern English-speaking society, the "gentleman" is the name of the man-as-he-should-be. The type is not fixed and the definition is not established. It is a collective and social ideal. Gentlemen are a group in society who have selected a code and standard of conduct as most conducive to prosperous and pleasant social relations. Therefore manners are an essential element in the type. A gentleman is one who has been educated to conform to the type, and that he has the *cachet* is indicated by his admission to the group. Novels develop and transmit the ideal; clubs are the tribunal of it. . . . A gentleman of a century ago would not be approved now. . . . In the eighteenth century he patronized cock fights and prize fights and he could get drunk, gamble, tell falsehoods and deceive women without losing caste. . . . A gentleman of to-day in the society of a century ago would be thought to have rowdy manners. Artificial manners are not in the taste of our time; athletics are."

There is only one thing certain about social patterns and that is that *they will change*. The Churchmen of the Middle Ages would give us up because we worship virginity so little. The Puritans would despair of us because we do not care for long sermons and "godly conversation." The military orders of olden times would despise us for honoring obedience and loyalty no more than we do. A century ago who anticipated the popularity of the athletic type? Two decades ago who foresaw the suffusion of a dozen important callings with professional ideals? A century hence young people may have as strong a bent for mental hygiene or disciplinary moral exercises as now they have for physical culture.

GENESIS OF STANDARDS

Whence comes the standard, or the change in standard? Sometimes from *experience*. Newcomers to the cattle country become willing to hang horse thieves after experiencing the helplessness of being afoot in vast spaces. Hospitality becomes a sacred duty in a sparsely settled region, because grateful to both hosts and guests. Cheap sugar and the spread of machine-operation favor the growth of temperance sentiment.

Often social standards originate with an *upper class*. In tropical South America only the "decent folk" take care to safeguard the chastity of their daughters. As the masses rise economically and respond to church and school and good reading matter, they will imitate the "decent folk" as regards the association of young people. In respect to bathing,

outdoor sports, frankness of speech, and aversion to boasting the English aristocracy have been pace-setters for English and Americans. *Bushido*, the moral code of Japan, originated with the *samurai*. The nobility of Russia were the channel by which Western standards got among the Russian people.

Sometimes standards come from lower down. Sumner remarks :

Steam and machinery with the increase of capital and of power over nature which they have produced, have given social power to the lower middle class, as the representatives of the masses. This has brought into control the *mores* of those classes, which were simple, unluxurious, philistine, and comparatively pure, because these classes were forced to be frugal, domestic, careful of their children, self-denying, and comparatively virtuous on account of their limited means.

Again, standards may be traced back to *outstanding individuals* or *élites*—Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Confucius, Jesus, Mahomet, Francis of Assisi, the Prophets of Israel, the Pharisees, the Stoics, the Christian Fathers, the Reformers, the Puritans, the Quakers, the Methodists, the Liberals, the Abolitionists, the Humanitarians, the Socialists, the Eugenists.

CRITICISM OF STANDARDS

Without the free play of judgment and unfettered criticism standards will accumulate and choke the channel of life. New needed taboos will be added to old useless taboos until one is penned in a thorn hedge of Don'ts, like the orthodox Jew, who must obey 613 commandments. When, however, a standard is attacked it is well to note the ground of the attack. Is the reproach against it that it limits one's freedom? or that obeying it benefits society less than it costs the obeyers? The latter is a home thrust, but not the former.

Any clever person can dissect standards to death, can make them out to be arbitrary, inconsistent, and burdensome. Without a sense of responsibility such a one is dangerous, for he breaks down standards, not on general-welfare grounds, but to display his cleverness or to rid himself of salutary restraints.

We may distinguish in society two elements : those who take standards seriously, live up to them under trying circumstances, propagate them, expose those who violate them, and shame the public into enforcing the standards it professes to hold ; and those who regard standards as gyves, ignore them when no one is looking, flout them when they feel themselves strong with the public, and pour upon them ridicule and

contumely. The former are the upbuilders, the latter the destroyers. There are times when the latter are so many and strong that there is a moral sag in society from its members being freer to give themselves up to their appetites and passions.

THE DISINTEGRATION OF TRADITION

What gives a social standard power over the reluctant will is chiefly public opinion, the prestige of age and the grip of early education. In our time, however, the latter two are uncommonly weak, because the startling transformations in manner of life forced upon us by the economic results of mechanical inventions have obliged us often to cast aside tradition and to laugh at childhood teachings. Here is the prime cause of the raw individualism of our age, the struggle-for-life ethics founded on a perverted Darwinism, and the elevation into a dogma of that ancient maxim of the underworld, "Every man for himself."

The break-up of moral traditions throws men back upon unschooled human nature and has its good side as well as its bad side. Writes Professor Cooley:

It may obscure those larger truths that are the growth of time and may let loose pride, sensuality and scepticism; but it also awakens the child in man and a childlike pliability to the better as well as to the worse in natural impulse. We may look, among people who have lost the sense of tradition, for the sort of virtues, as well as of vices, that we find on the frontier; for plain dealing, love of character and force, kindness, hope, hospitality and courage. Alongside of an extravagant growth of sensuality, pride and caprice, we have about us a general cult of childhood and womanhood, a vast philanthropy, and an interest in everything relating to the welfare of the masses of the people.

In the absence of social standards good people come to apply the simple humanitarian touchstone of conduct. "It is right for one to do what one likes, provided that nobody is harmed." This principle sounds well but is really an unsafe guide. For example, a miscreant who has confessed to an atrocious crime falls into the hands of an enraged crowd. Why should they restrain their vengeful impulses? His life is forfeit anyhow. Lynching him will save the state the expense of trying him, and strike terror to men of his ilk. It needs deep insight into society to warn the crowd, "Yield to such impulses and in the end you will lose control of them. Hang malefactors to-day and in a few years you will be burning them. Lynch for murder to-day and ere long you will be lynching for larceny or arson. Insult your courts by taking

No, we still need guidance. Many questions of right and wrong are hard nuts to crack. They call for the profoundest insight into human nature and into society. Year by year human relations become more tangled. The questions of our complex society are to the questions that troubled our grandfathers as problems in quadratic equations are to problems under the "rule of three." Well does Cooley observe :

In a traditional order one is accustomed from childhood to regard usage, the authority of elders and the dominant institutions as the rule of life. . . . But in our own time there is for many persons, if not most, no authoritative canon of life, and for better or worse we are ruled by native impulse and by that private reason which may be so weak when detached from a rational whole. . . . We find, then, that people have to make up their own minds upon their duties as wives, husbands, mothers and daughters; upon commercial obligation and citizenship; upon the universe and the nature and authority of God. Inevitably many of us make a poor business of it. It is too much. It is as if each should sit down to invent a language for himself. These things should be thought out gradually, coöperatively, each adding little and accepting much.

While most of us need the support of social standards in skirting the abysses of life, there is no reason why these standards should be arbitrary or antiquated. The influence of the scientific students of society ought to be directed to testing current standards from the rational point of view, e.g., the color line and the taboo on the marriage of near kin, and to formulating and pushing standards called for by novel situations or new knowledge, e.g., the obligations of the parent in modern society, the responsibility of the employer of young people, eugenic standards, and taboos relating to race poisons. Always in a healthy society a great deal of thought and care is given by the choicest spirits to propagating and preserving what are considered to be spiritual values.

1. Show that standards are the very life-blood of society.
2. State the distinction between *sleeping* standards and *live* standards.
3. What taboos appear to be weakening?
4. What is the great rôle of the standard of living?
5. Show that standards often reflect the master conditions of living.
6. Give illustrations of standards spreading from an upper class.

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7. Name some *élites* which have originated and successfully propagated higher standards.
8. Name cherished standards which are not conducive to social welfare.
9. Why are moral traditions nowadays weak?
10. Show that most moral progress does not come of itself but must be striven for.

EXERCISES

261. Give illustrations of workingmen or farmers being unduly influenced by standards which develop among business men.
262. Can you suggest other taboos it might be well to break down besides those mentioned?
263. What proposed new taboos are likely to excite controversy in the course of the next twenty years?
264. May an individual develop morally beyond the need of guidance by standards, so that in each situation which arises he may safely follow his conscience rather than the social standard?
265. Have you ever noticed a change in the standard type of college man, or college woman?
266. Compare small town with big city in respect to the extent to which one has to conform to external standards.
267. Of your acquaintances which do you admire the more—the exalters of standards or the critics of standards? Why?
268. What life situations are likeliest to call forth raw unconventional human goodness? Which evoke goodness dictated by a social standard?
269. How can you tell the one kind of goodness from the other when you experience them?

Standards of living
 1. Poverty level
 2. Minimum subsistence
 3. Health & decency
 4. Comfort

CHAPTER XL

GROUPS

OFTEN *human groups* are among the end-products of social processes. *Domination* calls into being large aggregates, such as empires. *Exploitation* binds exploiters and exploited together in certain permanent relations. *Opposition* causes those on the same side to stand together both from sympathy and from the practical motive of mutual support. Warfare, the extreme phase of opposition, has long been recognized as the arch-welder. *Adaptation* smooths away the obstacles to the formation of groups or makes men more harmonious if they are already in the same group. *Stratification* extends the *we*-feeling among those of the same social condition. *Socialization* makes people ready to cohere when an occasion for union presents itself. *Professionalization* necessitates a union of those within the same profession to formulate its standards and to expose, punish, or cast out practitioners who ignore these standards.

Nevertheless, social processes are not the only creators of groups. What is necessary in order that men should feel themselves to be one and therefore stand together is that they should be aware of *essential common traits* distinguishing them from others, or of a *momentous common interest* which can be protected and advanced only by collective effort.

LOCAL GROUPING

For various reasons, the ancient natural grouping by propinquity is giving way to selective association. Inequality of culture may hold neighbors apart, as we see in the aloofness of the artist colony or writer colony from the farmers of a picturesque New England valley or the fishermen of the Maine coast. Class lines divide so that, as in rural England, one lives in his class rather than in his neighborhood. Reading, giving the companionship of historical or imaginary characters, lessens social dependence upon neighbors. Correspondence and travel admit one to other circles than that of the vicinage. Once parish was coextensive with local community and neighbors were co-worshipers; but now, thanks to sectarianism, half a dozen starveling churches will struggle to

exist in a community which might furnish a single fair-sized congregation.

LIKENESS GROUPING

Groupings according to color and other external race characters are, of course, natural formations rather than social products. Groupings on the basis of dress, speech, and social habits are products of association, but the extension of planes of uniformity continually razes barriers of this sort. As sunderers of men extrinsic differences are on the wane.

It is a question to what extent the social population of the future will be cloven by *occupational* differences. In frontier society the useful callings are not sharply graded in social prestige. As society develops, specialization grows and occupation counts for more in rating men. At the same time a number of branches become professions, while even the skilled trades, taught in a systematic way, gain something of the dignity of the professions. Then, too, the latter-day tendency to see in the useful callings so many forms of social service forbids us to despise the socially necessary coal-heaver or street-sweeper because of the repulsiveness of his work. There seems little likelihood that occupation will ever again sunder people into castes such as we see still in India.

Diversity of knowledge, culture, and taste will continue to segregate men, but in an epoch of universal education it is impossible that they should rear such barriers as the past knew. When all but the mental deficient have the equivalent of a high school education—as may well be the case among us within forty years—there will be no “bumpkins,” “boors,” “clodhoppers,” or “chawbacons” for the educated to look down upon.

INTEREST GROUPING

Grouping dictated by interest will, no doubt, last until the end of time. Men will not cease to struggle groupwise, until they have no closer community of interest with *some* of their fellows than with *all*. Nevertheless, the typical interest groups of to-day are not life-and-death affairs as groups were in the days of yore. The extension of law and justice does away with the necessity for such little compact sovereign groups as the clan, the kindred, the mark, the gild. The general acceptance of the same ideas of right and the widening of the scope of operations of the machinery for realizing these ideas relieve one of the necessity of belonging to a strong group in order to get justice.

As the spread of the “King’s peace” has taken much of the life out of the groupings of kindred or neighbors, so justice for strangers on

the same terms as for nationals will take much of the life out of the nation. Just as in history tribes have merged into peoples, and provinces have merged into nations, so nations are bound to be merged into something still larger. Just as those who dreamed of One People were looked upon as bad tribesmen until the dream became reality; just as those who dreamed of One Nation were looked upon as bad citizens until the dream became reality; so those who dream of a super-national society will be deemed bad patriots until the dream becomes reality.

INVENTION AND DISCOVERY CONDITION INTEREST GROUPING

Often it is the inventor who fires the train which breaks up an old order and leads to new groupings. For example, the incessant development of machine technique gathers workers into ever-larger production groups. As this goes on, in order not to be at a fatal disadvantage in bargaining with their employers, the workers form unions for the purpose of substituting collective bargaining for the individual bargain. Thus the organization of labor is really a by-product of large-scale industry, which is, in turn, a by-product of the machine. The invention of such weapons as the torpedo, poison gas, the aëroplane, the dirigible, and the aërial bomb obliges the nations, if they do not wish to be blotted out one by another in some future war, to enter into some more comprehensive organization for the restraint of disturbers of the peace.

Quite unconsciously the finders of the germs of disease and the concoctors of antiseptics and serums are molding with giant hands the near political future of the human race. The recent marvelous progress of the art of saving life—the blessings of which will soon be extended to all mankind—will for a time divide humanity into *prolific peoples*, producing constantly a surplus which must emigrate or starve, and *self-controlled peoples*, which curb their fecundity, raise their standards of living, and disallow mass immigration. This situation will cause the National State to be cherished until adaptive fecundity has spread over the whole earth.

GROUPS AS TRANSMITTERS OF PAST THOUGHT AND PURPOSE

Thanks to the power of tradition and the stability of structures human groupings often *correspond to bygone conditions and aims* rather than to living forces. Not only do men stick together after they have lost their reasons for sticking together, but they remain apart after they have lost their reasons for remaining apart. It is this power of the past over human association which in many parts of the world keeps

groups small and local, suited to means of communication, modes of travel, forms of economic life, and tactics of defense, characteristic of an earlier time.

The persistence of groupings is illustrated in the contemporary failure of kindred Protestant denominations to merge into a single organization in order to avoid wasteful competition and duplication of work in communities too weak to support several Protestant churches; this despite the fact that the principal causes of their separateness no longer exist, while their doctrinal differences mean nothing to the majority of their members and are trivial from the viewpoint of modern religious thought.

Once an organized group has gained headway and traditions it behaves as if it had a life of its own, for it determines its members instead of being determined by them. How often a political party or reform association which has fulfilled its mission, instead of disbanding casts about for new issues to justify its further existence. The dominating spirits simply cannot bear to relinquish the power which their control of the organization gives them.

GROUPS AFFORD LEVERAGE FOR MINORITY CONTROL

Because churches, nationalistic associations, and political parties play so great a rôle in pre-determining the reactions of the average man to whatever comes up, they afford the shrewd and masterful few a rare opportunity to mold opinion. Can any one doubt, for example, that from the last seventy years' conflict between Science and Faith the Christian religion, organized into ecclesiastical bodies, has emerged with far less damage than if it had been no more organized than the religions of Asia?

In the same way national parties afford the Vested Interests a rare opportunity to direct political opinions to their own advantage. In view of the progress of manhood suffrage in Europe since the Revolution of 1848 it is really astonishing how little the ballot in the hands of the toilers has actually been used to modify property rights, inheritance, taxation, or the legal status of labor. When they saw the tidal wave of political democracy coming the privileged classes were in despair and never dreamed that they would be so little disturbed as they have been. The explanation is to be found partly in the control of newspapers by the Vested Interests, but chiefly in their ascendancy over such opinion-forming groups as "Society," the churches, and the political parties. The party, instead of being a fluid grouping sensitive to the play of

popular interest and opinion, is really a tough highly-organized body, taking in respect to a new political issue a position dictated by the watchful dominant element. Instead of the position of the party reflecting the view of the majority of its members the position of the majority of its members is likely to reflect the view of the party. Here is the secret of the fruitlessness of English political democracy as long as English politics was a series of sham battles between "Liberal" and "Conservative" parties under the "invisible government" of one and the same social class. Only when a formidable party arose, built and officered by *bona fide* representatives of labor, was Privilege seriously menaced.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why is the place bond weaker than formerly?
2. What grounds are there for thinking that less and less will men group themselves socially according to occupation?
3. Show that community-of-interest will always be a basis of grouping.
4. How has the machine forced men into opposing groups?
5. Show how the conquest of disease will result in the rearing of immigration barriers.
6. Show groups as condensers and transmitters of the ideas and aims of the Past.
7. How do groups afford leverage for a minority?

EXERCISES

270. Would it be better if the women of the plain people paid no attention to the styles, but worked out certain becoming types of costume which they liked, and stuck to them?
271. Show that the more security and benefits you get as a citizen the less tightly you tie yourself up with any group.
272. Show the inevitability of each advanced people barring out immigrants from the less advanced peoples.
273. Show that the amazingly rapid mechanical progress of our time may be more of an evil than a blessing.
274. By what means do the Vested Interests contrive to keep control of the big national parties for so much of the time?

increasing divorce rates *Mar. 5* *Planned* *relation to and*

CHAPTER XLI

INSTITUTIONS—THE FAMILY

THE family springs directly out of certain human instincts and, among some primitive peoples, it is more of a natural formation than a social institution. Society, however, has striven to master this tract of life by molding to an approved type the relations springing out of the sex instinct and the parental instinct. The societies which have contributed most to human progress have taken a deep interest in the family and have had no little success in standardizing it.

NEED THE FAMILY BE A SOCIAL INSTITUTION?

Some insist that the endeavor to institutionalize a thing so intimate and personal as mating and care of the young is foredoomed to failure and will be abandoned as mankind becomes more enlightened. They hail modern divorce and the tendency of the law to individualize the members of the family as harbingers of an era when society will no longer force upon men and women a single rigid pattern of relation. They anticipate that sex relations between the mature will become a private matter as religion from being a social institution has become a private matter.

The facts give small encouragement to these expectations. The state intervenes on behalf of the abused or neglected child or wife not out of indifference to the "sacredness" of the family, but just because it cherishes the family too much to suffer it to fall below the standard. Social control of the domestic relations is advancing rather than losing ground. The scientific study of society, which has made marked progress in the last thirty years, has brought to light in the family unsuspected social significance. It has become clear that the family is basic in respect to the production of the social traits of character, so that society has good reason to treat it as a social institution rather than a personal concern.

ECONOMIC CHANGES AFFECTING THE FAMILY

Over most of the world the durable monogamic family has triumphed, so that the question is, What modifications is monogamy under-

going, or likely to undergo? Since the middle of the last century the family, which appeared to have reached its fixed and final form, has been played upon by so many transforming forces that it has become an active mutant. The machine in the factory has filched from the home most of the industrial processes—spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, brewing, pickling, curing, and preserving—which made the wife nearly equal with her husband as a prop to the prosperity of the household. One result is a growing economic dependence of the home-staying wife which makes her discontented with the slowly narrowing round of domestic duties. If, on the other hand, the wife engages in paid work outside the home, the unity of the family is apt to suffer.

Thanks to invention, the volume of light-running machinery has become so great that industry offers an illimitable field for the employment of girls and women. On account of being able to accept a lower wage than the man, especially the man of family, requires, they are continually substituted for men in the industrial field and are rarely out of work. With more than ten million females above sixteen years of age earning outside the home, women's participation in industry is momentous enough; but it is *access* to industry, even more than *participation*, which reacts upon the family. The open door to self-support makes woman harder to win and harder to keep than when matrimony was the sole career open to her.

SPIRITUAL CHANGES AFFECTING THE FAMILY

These *external* changes remove hoops which once helped bind the members of the family together, but they leave untouched the ties of affection and loyalty uniting its members. More serious are certain *spiritual* changes which attack the family from the inside and work against its success and stability.

One of these is the decay of religious belief. For myriads the religious sanction to marriage has crumbled away, leaving it a galling yoke if they are not well-mated.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the reigning social philosophy in America was individualistic. In the field of domestic relations this implies: absolute freedom of matrimonial choice; mating in obedience to romantic love; marriage the opening of the door to "wedded bliss"; *rights* uppermost in the mind rather than *duties*; and slight appreciation of the significance of the family for racial and social welfare.

Formerly the unity and stability of the family were achieved chiefly

by the sacrifice of the wife's wishes and personality. This is what one sees still in Central Europe and South America and even more in China. Now the education and mental emancipation of women results in the husband being called upon to bear his share of the sacrifices domestic harmony requires; but often he, bred to a belief in the superior worth of the male, refuses. In proportion as women escape from abject mental dependence on men and find a point of view of their own, they spurn patriarchal claims and expect marriage to be the union of equal wills. Nevertheless, many of the men they wed cherish the conviction that the husband is the rightful "head" of the family. This clash of ideals is none the less disastrous because it is but an incident of a transition process in social evolution.

SINISTER TENDENCIES

Owing to these causes we find the family now less stable than it has been at any time since the beginning of the Christian era. The development is world-wide, but it has reached its most advanced stage in the United States. Even in 1885 this country granted more divorces than all the rest of Christendom, while in 1905 it granted 68,000 divorces as against 40,000 for the rest of the Christian civilized world. At the latter date the divorce rate of the United States was twice that of Switzerland, thrice that of France, five times that of Germany, and forty times that of England. In 1916 in the United States as a whole there was one divorce to every nine marriages, while in two far-Western states there was one divorce to three marriages. Between 1887 and 1906, while population gained a half, the number of divorces increased 160 per cent. It has been computed that, if the rate of increase continues, by the middle of this century a fourth of all American marriages will end in the divorce court and before the end of the century a half!

The fact that two-thirds of the divorces have been granted at the instance of the wife suggests that the tendency reflects woman's new sense of dignity and her new opportunity for self-support. Ninety-four per cent. of the divorces are granted for such serious causes as adultery, desertion, cruelty, imprisonment for crime, drunkenness, and neglect to provide. That adultery or desertion—either of which testifies that a real bond no longer exists—figures in three-fifths of the cases indicates that the prevalence of divorce is not due to the laxity of our laws as some insist, but to the decay of the virtues upon which the family rests, namely, self-sacrifice, forbearance, and loyalty. These traits of the adaptive or self-subordinating type of character are yielding ground to

the traits of self-interestedness, self-assertiveness, and love of self-direction.

ENCOURAGING TENDENCIES

Let it not be supposed that a casualty rate of a ninth is the only feature of the contemporary family. In view of the increase of city life, industrialism, and woman's ease of self-support, the persistent vogue of matrimony is wonderful. More of the Americans are married than of any European people west of Hungary. Moreover, the censuses since 1890, when we began to inquire into conjugal condition, reveal more people wedded before they are twenty years old, and before they are twenty-five years old.

This genial trend owes something to the lightening of the burden of work and of child-bearing to be shouldered by the wife. Among the native-born the worn-out mother of a dozen children is almost unknown. Although the outlook of the self-supporting spinster has brightened, that of the well-mated wife has brightened even more. The popularity of marriage reflects, furthermore, the attractiveness of a type of wedlock which constrains woman less and grants her an ampler sphere of self-determination than any other type known to civilization.

In view of the low illegitimacy and the faithfulness of American husbands and wives in comparison with peoples which pride themselves upon their low divorce rate, there is ground for believing that our society is more successful than any previous large society in confining sex intimacy to the legal channel appointed for it. Our reward for not making it excessively difficult for unhappy persons to escape from marriage is that, while one is in it, one is willing to abide by its rules.

In view of these encouraging symptoms it is not unreasonable to hope that what we are witnessing is not the disintegration of the family institution, but the transition from the old type of family, in which real incompatibility was masked by the husband's authority and the wife's submissiveness, to a nobler and more democratic type.

MONOGAMY NECESSARY TO SOCIETY

In proportion as this approaches accomplishment the tide of divorce ought to turn, for there is no place like the stable home for the building of social character in children. The family is, as it were, a half-way house between the ego and society. It has charge of the earlier part of the process of socialization. In it the child should slough off its naïve instinctive egoism and takes its first steps in the path of love, service, and self-sacrifice. In the words of Ellwood:

Loyalty and unselfish devotion to the larger human groups, psychology shows, cannot be effectively developed without first developing loyalty to those smaller groups which call forth the instinctive affections of the child. The attachments developed in the family make possible and actually strengthen the attachments to larger groups. Hence, where family sentiments are strong, there one usually finds strong patriotism and strong social sympathies in general.

To discharge this beneficent office it is not necessary that the family be large. With parents of the right kind and with enough children of the right age accessible in the neighborhood nursery, kindergarten, or playground, the three-child family may socialize its members quite as thoroughly as the family with a dozen.

MEANS OF COMBATING THE INSTABILITY OF THE FAMILY

For about thirty years the drift of American divorce legislation has been in the direction of greater restriction. The fact that this has not reduced the divorce rate suggests that the remedy must reach the deep-lying cause, viz., the mental attitude of the married toward their relation.

Now that for innumerable young people marriage has no religious sanction, it is essential that they be imbued with the *ethical* conception of marriage. The *romantic* conception from the principle "Love cannot be forced" deduces that the newly-wedded can only *hope* that the attachment will last, but that they can do nothing to keep it alive. Experience shows, however, that will-attitude is a very essential thing in a lasting and happy union. If lovers enter upon marriage with a lively sense of obligation and with a firm resolve to make such sacrifices as may be necessary to insure its success, their attachment is far more likely to endure than if they obey only their impulses. So fine a thing as the concord of two persons living one life is rarely to be had without determined effort.

No doubt it would be well if young people were taught to look upon divorce as a moral shipwreck rather than an incident in sex adventure. Pride, selfishness, and want of self-control ought not to escape condemnation when masquerading behind the excusing phrase, "incompatibility of temper." There is no reason why divorce should not bring upon those responsible for it as deep mortification as the confession of bankruptcy brings upon insolvent business men.

Not chiefly because sex love is naturally a tricky and mercurial thing do marriages fail, but because the husbands and wives have the wrong attitude toward their undertaking. What, therefore, is necessary is that

they should embark on it possessed of conceptions and ideals of marriage which will put them in the right attitude. The problem, then, is one of replacing false standards with true standards, of bringing under the sway of social standards relations which now are governed by impulse.

Already in many circles prevail the ideals of the ethical family which, we hope, is the coming type. Among college-bred women, for example, the divorce rate is said to be so small as to be negligible. These select women have the intelligence to choose well the mate and the strength of character to make their mating a success. If the influences which fit them to realize the ethical family could be brought to bear upon all young men and young women, little of the divorce problem would remain. The true policy, therefore, is to impart sound ideals of marriage and family in the schools to all of sufficient age; to fix these ideals everywhere in social tradition, so that the young shall meet them at every turn; and to make the social atmosphere frosty toward foolish and frivolous ideals of marriage.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Is society more disposed or less disposed to standardize the relations between men and women? *True*
2. Show how economic changes are molding the family.
3. Set forth spiritual changes which are affecting the family.
4. State the growth of divorce in the United States.
5. What tendencies of the American family are encouraging?
6. Show that the sound, stable family is a socializer of the children brought up in it.
7. How can excessive divorce be combated?

EXERCISES

275. What benefits to woman result from her entrance into the industrial field? What evils?
276. Is it possible for the home to recover in any way its former control over the social and recreative life of young people, or is community control the only alternative to commercialization?
277. Is the experience of young people in governing themselves (boys' clubs, girls' clubs, school self-government, etc.) effecting a change in the authority of the parent over the child?
278. Is divorce an evil, or the symptom of an evil? Reasons.
279. Compare city with country in respect to: (a) the stability of the family; (b) its individuality; (c) its solidarity.
280. Out of your own experience, develop and illustrate my proposition: "The family is a half-way house between the ego and society."
281. How far should the state instead of the family assume the duty of instructing children in regard to matters of sex, domestic economy, morals, and religion?

CHAPTER XLII

INSTITUTIONS—THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

UNLIKE the family, the school is not a natural formation but a thing *willed*. Back of it lies not *instinct*, but *purpose*. It was a domestic concern for thousands of years before it became a social concern; but no agency has been institutionalized with less trouble. The School has never gotten out of hand and made itself master of society rather than servant, as Church and State frequently have done.

In the Middle Ages the Church was looked to as the chief promoter of concord and obedience and in many ways society aided and favored it. But, since the Church cherished aims and ambitions of its own, it proved to be by no means a pliant, manageable institution. Moreover, certain later developments have sadly impaired its value as a binder. Variation of doctrine has spread among the laity confusion and doubt. The splitting of believers into sects has made it impracticable to support religion with public money. The growth of unbelief has lessened the efficacy of religious dogma in producing like-mindedness. Consequently we see modern society leaning less on the Church and more on the School. When China launched the new education a few years ago, schools were set up in temples, and under lofty pillared roofs I found little fellows in queues reciting before the grim god of war, or Kwan-yin, goddess of mercy. In South America as a rule the *colegio* or university is housed in an old convent. In the United States the great universities, palatial high schools, and splendid public library buildings that are rising are as characteristic of the age as the cathedrals that rose in Europe between the twelfth century and the sixteenth. In fine, the School, once semi-private, has become a public institution, while the Church, once a public institution, has become semi-private.

POPULAR EDUCATION AS THE BULWARK OF DEMOCRACY

When domestic husbandry prevailed, if the people lost their hold on the steering wheel of government, they paid for it chiefly in high taxes. To-day they would pay for it not only in high taxes but, as well, in monopoly prices for many things they have to buy. More and more

economic life has to be watched and regulated, so that where Government sits there is the head of the table. The intelligence of the American voters of a century ago sufficed to maintain control over their government, but if the voters of to-day were no better informed, our government would soon degenerate into ring rule. The plane of citizen intelligence should rise as the State rises to the high tasks which economic and social development thrusts upon it. In the words of Hetherington:

Civilization and common progress in the arts of life are possible only in communities which are both ordered and free; and no community can have that quality unless there is a widespread appreciation of the ends and methods of government and social life.

Democratic government at least demands an educated people. For government of any sort requires authority; and authority attaches to a decision or decree only when it has some definite authentic will behind it. Plainly, it is easier to secure singleness of aim and action with few rulers than with many. Hence a democratic community is sometimes apt to be hesitating in counsel or a prey to the danger of inner dissension. Its safety in such a condition lies only in an educated community. Men may be reluctant to be persuaded of a truth; but it is the only thing of which, in the long run, they will be persuaded, or on which they will agree. Unanimity, therefore, or that measure of harmony of mind and will which makes possible effective common action, depends upon the wide diffusion of a sense of truth and of the candour which will abide by the truth. It is a product of education and nothing else.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

A few years ago an overwhelming immigration brought into the electorate great numbers of illiterate peasants with only the most rudimentary notions of what democracy means. The low politician promptly took the naïve foreign-born voter in hand and proceeded to persuade him that a political party is a mutual benefit association, that the Constitution should be nothing between friends, that to be independent in voting is to betray a sacred obligation, that to "scratch" your ticket is to "go back on" your friends, and that it is weak-minded not to use the power of office to reward your friends and punish your enemies.

This process created about fifteen years ago a widespread alarm as to the future of popular government in this country and prompted the demand that the schools train for citizenship. The aim is to ground coming citizens in the fundamentals of democracy—majority rule, free speech, the distinction between liberty and license, the importance of

law enforcement, the place of party, the sacredness of the ballot, the merit system, and the responsibilities of public office.

THE IMPARTING OF SKILL

The traditional way of perpetuating the technique and secrets of each craft has been that the craftsman transmitted them to his sons, who, as a matter of course, followed their father's calling. This no longer avails because the young are reluctant to commit themselves to an occupation merely because their father happens to be engaged in it. Even the apprentice system of imparting skill has broken down. The skilled employee is not free to teach his art to whom he will. The employer may not deem it worth while to take apprentices into his plant and provide them with opportunities for learning their trade.

The logic of the situation points to systematic provision for imparting such skill as industry needs. The transmission of the industrial arts, which in the past has been casual and unplanned, is likely to devolve more and more upon the School. The provision which has been made here and there for the methodical handing on of such skill as society seems likely to require will become general. When each trade has been dissected and the aptitudes it calls for have been ascertained and when, furthermore, a technique has been worked out for testing the aptitudes and limitations of the pupil, the School will be able to discover which applicants have and which have not the traits requisite for success in a particular calling. When it can do this it will be charged with the responsibility of guiding youths into their vocations as well as imparting the skill which these vocations call for.

TEACHING THE DIGNITY OF LABOR

We aim to instruct "all the children of all the people" but our notions of what ought to be taught come down from a time when schooling fitted the children of the propertied for leisure-class pursuits. As the school has moved down the social ladder, each new social class admitted has been confronted with a traditional curriculum prepared especially for the social ranks above. Hence, to the sons of farmers and day laborers the school seems out of touch with life and the less far-sighted quit it as soon as possible for the paying job.

Only of late have the captains of education recognized that if the schools are to hold the three out of five whose lot it will be to earn their living in the sweat of their brows, they must come closer to farm and workshop. The school building of the future will be constituted of

workshops rather than classrooms, so that hand and eye will be trained along with the mind.

Yet with what incredible slowness have workshops won their way in the schools! There has been little objection to the manual arts, yet it has been nearly as easy to move the Pyramids as to make a place for them in the curriculum. A mysterious force ever resists the endeavor to make schoolgirls deft with foods and fabrics, schoolboys skilful with machines and materials. This force is simply the prejudice against manual labor with which most of us are tainted. In every society the propertied class instinctively cherish and propagate the idea that work is contemptible. They are bound to do this lest their social position be ruined by the spread of the rival idea that work is worthy, whereas habitual idleness is contemptible.

It was not direct control of the propertied class over education which long kept the school curriculum bookish but the contamination of even the functional people by their toxic notions. The wives of butchers and bakers and farmers feel the lack of gentility in tools and are bleakly inhospitable to the industrial features of the school. Nevertheless, book studies have been ousted from their monopoly and the tide runs strong in favor of dignifying work by making work with the hands a part of the curriculum of every public school.

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

American society by the middle of the last century was saturated with the idea that, as a normal thing, men intelligently pursuing their private pecuniary interests promote inadvertently the social welfare. This not only made for *let alone* in government, but for *individualism* in morals. If a man did the right thing by other individuals there would be nothing to worry about. It was overlooked that this leaves without restraint actions which injure, not known persons, but the general public, or the good customs and institutions which are the guy ropes of the social order.

Now, this philosophy long caused public education to be dominated still by the idea of *individual success*. The School was to train and develop the powers of the youth so that he might run well in the race for the good things of life. It was assumed that if the community contains a large number who are competent to take care of themselves, the social interest will be well cared for. Forty years ago the multiplying of social and political evils and the appearance of dangerous discontents caused thoughtful men to begin to doubt this rosy social phi-

losophy. Gradually it was perceived that there are a number of important social interests which are not parallel with individual interests and which should be preferred when they clash with such interests. Adjustment to these ideas went on rapidly through the nineties, and it is safe to say that by 1910 no one continued to hold to the old social philosophy unless he was ignorant, elderly, or very prosperous.

The change in the national spirit soon registered itself in the field of education and under the slogan "educate for service" has triumphed in the universities, colleges, and high schools. The striking thing is that there is no marked difference between endowed institutions and tax-supported institutions in their response to this ideal. It is the *national spirit*, not the *source of support*, that has counted. Even better proof is the fact that up to fifteen years ago law schools and medical schools maintained by the state had no higher notion of their duty than to train young men to earn fees; while, on the other hand, in the course of the last dozen years the private law schools and medical schools have been nearly as keen as the state universities about teaching professional ethics.

THE EQUALIZING OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

In American commonwealths the school "year" varies from four months to ten months. In one state four-fifths of the teachers have only an elementary education, while in certain other states all are at least normal school or high school graduates. In 1916 the average pay of teachers in California was nearly thrice that of Mississippi. In the same year the state at the head of the list spent nine times as much on its average child as the state at the foot of the list. Apparently Scandinavia and the Balkans, Scotland and Chile stand scarcely farther apart in respect to educational opportunities than do certain states in the American Union.

Such inequalities may not be trusted to disappear of themselves. Ignorance is self-perpetuating. Poor schools may become endemic in a region. Nevertheless, the intelligent communities must submit to be governed in part by the representatives of the dark-minded districts. No wonder they resort to state compulsion or state financial aid to level up educational opportunities within the state and advocate Federal compulsion or Federal financial aid to level up within the nation. Nor is this tendency to nationalize education peculiarly American; it is, in fact, world wide. All progressive peoples are coming to feel that the child's

schooling is too much a social concern to be left entirely to the discretion of the parents, or even of the local community.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why has the School never been so hard for society to control as Church or State?
2. Show society switching its support from Church to School.
3. Does the fact that the Church is less and less a supported, regulated social institution prove that modern society attaches little importance to religion as a socializer?
4. Show that Government is more and more influential in determining the sharing of wealth and welfare.
5. Why is it necessary nowadays to impart skill in the schools?
6. Show that we are offering the many an education desired for the children of the fortunate.
7. Set forth the connection between the natural-harmony theory of society and the personal-success ideal of life.
8. State the motive and means of leveling up educational opportunities.

EXERCISES

282. Why is it that if the average voter's intelligence remains stationary, his government does not remain stationary but actually deteriorates?
283. What can be urged on behalf of the proposal that the age of compulsory school attendance should be raised to sixteen years?
284. Why have the old systems of handing on skill broken down?
285. Why was the dominant motive for extending popular education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the desire to enable the common people to read the Bible?
286. What have you noticed in elementary or high school education which appears to be based on leisure-class assumptions?
287. Name some of the "important social interests which are not parallel with individual interests and which should be preferred when they clash with such interests."
288. What kinds of education has the Federal Government put its money behind? Why has it favored just these kinds?

CHAPTER XLIII

INSTITUTIONS—THE RECREATION CENTER

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OUR instincts are neither all good nor all bad. Every one of them, during the process of its acquirement, helped one live and therefore was good. But within the brief historic period the wild life for which the instincts were fitted has been left so far behind that some of them have become a handicap to the individual or a menace to society. Such are the teasing, tormenting, and bullying impulses.

Certain instincts have made so much trouble for the man-tamers, i.e., teachers, clergymen, employers, magistrates, and drill-masters, that they are all for uprooting them as so many weeds. But it is not so certain that we can thus be rid of our original tendencies. Says Wallas:

We cannot in St. Paul's sense "mortify" our dispositions. If they are not stimulated, they do not therefore die, nor is the human being what he would be if they had never existed. If we leave unstimulated, or, to use a shorter term, we "balk," any one of our main dispositions, Curiosity, Property, Trial and Error, Sex, and the rest, we produce in ourselves a state of nervous strain.

MUCH MODERN WORK IS UNSTIMULATING

The work side of life appeals less and less to man's native tendencies. The case was bad enough when, a few thousands of years ago, hunting failed him and in tilling the soil he first made his acquaintance with drudgery. But the husbandman, working with growing things out of doors and in touch with domestic animals, is a glad child of Nature compared with the modern factory-worker, feeding metal plates to a punching machine for ten hours a day.

Business has not deteriorated so far. The grind of business is relieved by situations which stir the hunting, emulative, fighting, or constructive instincts. The man with a prospering enterprise of his own usually finds zest in running it and hates to have to take the salaried post offered him by the trust that absorbs his concern. The fact that the phraseology and imagery of business men are saturated with pictures borrowed from the chase and the fight reveals why so many remain in

business long after they are able to retire, and why they are so loath to admit that business should be a form of social service and not a game.

The professions appeal less to the cave man in us. Nevertheless, they offer the excitement of variety and uncertainty, put intermittent strains on the attention, and set problems which stimulate curiosity and the instinct of workmanship. Unlike the maker of the fiftieth part of a pin, the professional man feels the elation that comes from following a job right through to the anticipated end.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROWING PASSION FOR RECREATION

The increasing poverty of modern employments in elements which stimulate the instincts accounts for the amazing growth in our time of the passion for recreation. What the "stale" worker covets is not *rest*; else why not lounge away his holiday on his back porch? Nor is *change of activity* all he craves; else why does not the hotel clerk spend his vacation as stevedore, the physician as teamster or piano-mover? If it is *relaxation* he is after, why does not the tired brain-worker spend his summer holidays in gymnasium, bowling alley, and shooting gallery? No, what ails the slave of desk and clock, of client and customer, is what ails the horse pawing in his stall, the wolf restlessly pacing his cage. He needs experience that will feed his famishing instincts. Hence the great recipe for recreation is "back to Nature"—raw Nature, so rich in simple and racially familiar things! In a wilderness trip the novice thinks it is the big outstanding features that do him good—canoe paddling, swimming, fishing, or shooting rapids. The fact is, most of his benefit comes from a lot of little things which he scarcely notices, but which register in his subconscious mind. Such are green-clad hills, tossing seas of verdure, the sparkle of sunlight on stirring leaves and rippling water, the mirror magic of still lakes, the sighing in pine tops, the shadow dance of sun falling through foliage, the challenge of precipitous trails, the sense of little peering furry creatures all about one. Thick woods, darkness, and queer night noises stir the wild self in us just enough to afford a delicious tingle.

Very little things will "get a rise" out of your primitive self. Plodding through a drizzle is depressing, but there is exhilaration in battling a gusty rainstorm or a blizzard. The canoeist notices that pounding waves by rousing his fighting instinct are easier to paddle against than a current or a head wind. The angler cares more for fly-casting and bait-casting than for still-fishing, because a thrill in him

answers the "strike" of the fish. This is why he seeks out the "game" species, that seize his lure with a rush and fight hard when hooked.

A summer camp offers to city boys not fresh air and exercise so much as the stimulating of deep-seated instincts, which find no outlet in the regular round of home, school, and street. It is full of challenge to the prying, roving, hunting, collecting, contriving, and vying tendencies. The *woods* appeal to youth as catnip does to cats. "I have often," says Professor Puffer, "in taking cross-country walks with boys attempted to switch out from among the trees into open meadows or pasture land to save distance. Over and over again, however, have the boys protested. 'No, don't. Let's stay in the woods,' they have entreated."

The reason why *life out of doors* has a mysterious healing power over mental disorders is that it teems with experiences which are as grateful to the subconscious as soft fur is to the skin. Its rehearsal of activities of body and states of mind belonging to the childhood of our race rests the overtaxed higher cerebral centers. This no doubt accounts for the marked improvement in the state of epileptics, insane, and incorrigibles when removed from almshouses and jails to a farm colony well situated with reference to water, groves, and hills.

Like townspeople, the dwellers on lonely farms suffer from "balked disposition," but their trouble comes from quite another quarter. In the open country what irks is not so much lack of the stimuli Nature provides as *lack of society*. Gray days of toil, alone or with grave, still elders, are zestless to the child of a race that went always in bands. The farm youth craves elbow touch, eyebeam, voices, the call of his kind, concerted rhythmic response. After an autumn of hard work amid sere stalks and under leaden skies, his thrills will come, not from "camping out," but from social "bee," dance, *charivari*, or religious revival.

WANT OF RECREATION DRIVES TO VICE

Alcoholism by no means indicates either a physiological demand for stimulant or a specific craving for strong drink. Many hope for relief from the mental depression produced by living against the native grain. What a far cry from the running, striking, throwing, hunting, stalking, and fighting Nature fitted us for to the few endlessly repeated movements of the modern factory operative! The discipline, the monotony, the meaninglessness of one's minute fragment of a task, the dreary surroundings in industrial towns, make life more irksome than ever before it has been for free workers. The series—herdsman, husbandman, craftsman, artisan—constitutes a curve *away from* the instinctive,

which finds its terminus in the machine-tender. With little in it to rouse the impulses of rivalry, curiosity, or constructiveness, the day's work is done under steady strain. One drives through it only for the Saturday pay check. "Why do you get drunk?" a Chicago stock-yards worker was asked. "Because that 's the quickest way out of Packingtown," was the reply.

RECREATION RAISES GRAVE MORAL PROBLEMS

Recreation, then, there must be, if people gone stale are not to poison themselves with drugs. But what shall serve for recreation is far from being a *private* question. Still less can it be left to the conscience of commercial amusement caterers. *Because they touch and awaken the instincts, and because the instincts may call out the jungle self*, amusements have always given rise to many of the chief ethical problems in society. The experience of civilized peoples with certain sports which rouse the aboriginal instincts of combat make it clear that we have here to do with a very serious matter.

DEMORALIZING RECREATIONS

The bloody spectacles of fighting men and beasts provided by the ruling class of Rome as a means of contenting the populace eventually struck root in all parts of the Empire save Palestine, and were for four hundred years a master-influence upon the ancient world. At first such spectacles were occasional, but in time a veritable mania for them grew up, and the acquired love of bloodshed was perpetuated from age to age. When Antiochus introduced the games into Syria, the first impression was one of disgust, but repetition changed the feeling into approval. Greece, superior in civilization, long resisted bloody spectacles and only the rabble ever became fond of them. To the last the educated unanimously condemned them.

The moral harm wrought by the arena baffles measurement, but it is significant that the Roman world remained hard and ruthless until Stoicism, and, later, Christianity, brought a spirit of mildness, and that none of its peoples experienced the gradual genial humanization that had occurred in the development of the Greeks.

That morally the bullfight has been a millstone tied about the neck of the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Peruvians is doubted by no one who has ever seen it. In the beginning it was a knightly sport, but with the coming on of generations which had drunk in the gory sights of the bullring almost with their mother's milk it degenerated. To-day the

onlooking multitude shows a quite depraved taste for seeing living flesh torn and blood gush out. The riding out of blindfolded old horses for the bull to vent his rage upon is obviously no part of the fight, but a sop to the bloodthirst of the crowd. The devotees of the bullfight insist that it fosters "manliness," but what is the manliness of the spectators who from their safety cry "Nearer!" to the *matador*, compared with that of the aviator or mountain climber who seeks his thrills by risking *his own* life, not that of another? Noting the children about the bullring, noting how even the boys in the street play bull and *matador*, one perceives why the history of so fine a strain as the Celt-Iberian is stained with mistreatment of domestic animals, the use of torture, cruelty to the fallen foe, and ruthlessness to political adversaries.

The prize ring appeals to instincts as primitive as those which found satisfaction in the duels of gladiators. President Hall testifies:

In witnessing great pugilistic contests, which I sometimes permit myself to do as a student of human nature, the three surprises are: first, my own tense and absorbing interest that makes me want to shout and yell like a wild Indian as the rest do and perhaps leap into the ring; second, a kind of cathartic refreshment after the brainstorm, which like a thunderstorm clears the air; and third, that I see so many other respectable people there whom I know, but do not wish me to recognize them.

Were the prize ring open to children and youth, no doubt it would brutalize as the bullring has brutalized. What keeps pugilistic encounters from becoming rougher than they actually are appears to be, not the squeamishness of their devotees, but the sentiment of the outside public. The disgust of "fight fans" at a "tame" bout, their joy in "bare knuckles" and "a fight to the finish," indicate that but for society's veto a revival of gladiatorial combats would be a money-making venture in the great cities of to-day.

DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE OF PARASITIC SPECTATORS

In the conflict type of recreation it makes a great difference morally whether a man gets the sharp tang of excitement *by struggling himself* or *by watching others struggle*. In the latter case he is a spectator, not a player, and has his elation without effort, pain, or danger. But so fine a thing ought not to be had on such easy terms. It is the man willing to put on the gloves and "take punishment" who has earned the right to enjoy the boxing of others. The chief reason why national sport

degenerates is that, after people have become lazy and soft, they *will not make their own fun*, but have it *catered*, allowing to be spilled the cheap blood of beasts, slaves, criminals, captives, gladiators, and *toreadors*, rather than risk their own skins.

The parasitic onlooker is to blame for the monstrous and demoralizing *excess* that presently shows itself in sport. The amateur sportsman is held back from such excess by the price he pays in danger and pain. The spectator knows no such curb; dulled by familiarity, he demands sights ever more sensational and shocking to thrill his jaded nerves. Thus in the course of two centuries the Roman populace became gluttons for blood. At a single spectacle Trajan produced eleven thousand animals, while Claudius staged a sea fight in which nineteen thousand gladiators butchered one another till the waters of the lake were red!

Among us, multitudes who want, not to *play*, but to *be amused*, participate by inner imitation in the contests of professionals when they should be at games of their own. One who hunts, fishes, canoes, rows, sails, climbs, golfs, or skis, despises these flabby athletes-by-proxy. The "fan" who is nothing else is a hanger-on of the play of others. Least athletic of men, he never plays at anything himself but is content to be a mere spectacle-hunter. His crowd hysteria and partisanship disgust true sportsmen and throw sport into the hands of those who play for the money there is in it.

GAMBLING

Quite apart from its lure of easy gain, gambling fascinates because its conflict situations appeal to the same instinct which is excited in boat race or ball game, in business competition or stock speculation. Its reaction, unlike that from watching physical combat, is not brutalizing. Society bans the gamester, whose zest is but that of the business man or sportsman, because he creates no values and breaks down good habits. Once the something-for-nothing itch seizes upon it a people loses heart for industry and saving, while all the parasitisms—theft, swindling, fraud, extortion, graft, vice-catering, imposture—flourish with a tropical luxuriance.

SENSUAL APPEAL

A host of diversions appeal openly or subtly to the masterful mating instinct. Promiscuous erotic dancing, "girl" shows, risky plays, the nude in art, and the daring in literature allure because they are saturated

with sex suggestion. No doubt if amusement caterers were given a perfectly free course—no check from police or public opinion, from current standards of decency, or from the steadying influence of elders—sensuality would be excited to such a pitch that marriage and home would be broken down and race continuance imperiled.

POLICIES FOR DEALING WITH EVIL RECREATIVE TENDENCIES

For dealing with demoralizing sports and amusements there are three policies—viz., *suppression*, *substitution*, and *sublimation*.

No policy has been so thoroughly tried out as *suppression*. Religion naturally dreads whatever unleashes the beast in man and hence has taken a critical attitude toward recreations. The early Christians turned with horror from the arena. The medieval Church herself provided pageants, plays, and festivals to brighten the drab existence of the masses. The Puritans uprooted the old loose communal diversions of “merrie” England, closed the playhouses, and destroyed the people’s pleasure fields. Various Protestant groups long ago took alarm at the moral flare-back from recreations and proceeded to lay their ban on gambling, dancing, the theater, the circus, and the novel.

Such a yoke may be assumed by some, but it cannot be imposed on the people as a whole. Instead of recreation being cut down in volume, there is every reason to anticipate that it will greatly expand. As our daily occupations become more specialized, more methodical, more routine, fall completely under “scientific management,” and lose much of their creative gladness, as the hotter pace of modern life throws upon the higher brain centers a constant and severe strain which must be offset by longer intervals of rest and relaxation, the demand for recreation will become more general, more imperious, and more justified.

The *substitution* policy goes on the theory that for every low and demoralizing sport some fine and wholesome substitute may be found which will in the end prove just as satisfying. This in turn rests on the psychological principle that each of our tendencies may be brought into play by a variety of situations. Detective stories and boy scout manœuvres afford gratification to the hiding and hunting instincts, as well as playing “It” or “I spy.” Marching, crew rowing, and choral singing give the pleasure of rhythm no less than see-saw and dancing. Our political contests certainly stir and refresh us. If the Romans had stayed democratic, as the Athenians did, they would have hankered less for bloody games. Patriotic festivals, political barbecues, and ecstatic

religious revivals are as truly emotional "sprees" as prize fights and lynchings, besides being innocent.

The experience of the last fifteen years opens a wonderful vista for substitution in the sphere of sports. The four thousand supervised playgrounds in the United States, looked after by ten thousand professional leaders and supervisors, have weaned great numbers of lads from mischief-making, broken up "tough" gangs, and overcome slum tendencies. Athletic contests have driven the bullfight from Hispanic peoples under American influence. The Filipinos are finding their excitement about the baseball diamond rather than the cockpit. Under the lead of American officials the wild Igorrotes of Luzon have learned to divert themselves with athletic contests and dancing instead of head-hunting. In China, as opium smoking declines, sport comes in with a rush and thousands of Chinese make long journeys by train in order to attend the national meets. It does not seem rash to anticipate that bullfight and cockfight, opium debauch and vinous "spree," every ghoulisn orgy of religious fanaticism and every obscene or bloody rite in Asiatic temples, may be displaced in a generation or two by ball games and track meets, folk-dancing, and symbolic pageants, if only in public supervised recreation centers all the children are bred to take part in merry and wholesome plays.

Sublimation occurs when the original demands of our natures accept purely imaginative gratification or become blent with culture elements. This leads to the enjoyment of *art*, which is quite a different outlet from play. *Music* touches and rouses instinct after instinct, but not in a way to threaten the poise of the civilized man. In the *drama* our emotions are fed with the situations presented by love, war, diplomacy, crime, adventure, and politics. The flight instinct, after childhood quite suppressed in real life, causes us to hang breathlessly upon the motion-picture representation of the hunted animal or the hunted man. The maternal instinct is stirred by the representation of the waif, the hapless victim, the stricken hero. The well-made plot of novel or drama is a challenge to the instinct of curiosity, like a puzzle or a riddle.

There are signs that society, which has recently been converted to the policy of making provision for play, may yet be brought to do something for music and art. Municipal bands and orchestras are not uncommon, and the Puritan horror of the theater is nearly gone. Educators recognize the socializing power of good drama, and a stage is often provided in the newer school buildings. The social settlements have

taken a hand in producing good plays, and their successors, the public social centers, may offset the evil tendencies of the commercial theater.

PLAY AS BUILDER OF THE SOCIAL VIRTUES

Let it not be supposed that the innocent stimulation of instinctive tendencies measures society's interest in the promotion of play. Certain games, particularly antagonistic team games, afford character discipline of the highest value. The game fosters loyalty to one's fellows, to one's team, and to one's institution. It accustoms one to obey the captain, to accept without a murmur the decision of the recognized authority and to work for the good of the whole rather than for self. It develops facility in concerted action and gives practice in quick unreflecting adjustment to the intentions and moves of others. In being required to abide by the rules of the game under circumstances which sorely try the temper, one acquires self-control. Sport, moreover, imposes the difficult ideal of the "good sportsman," who is just and magnanimous, who neither gloats in victory nor sulks in defeat.

The playground, then, offers experience in an animated stimulating miniature society which presents many of the situations one encounters later in adult life. It forms the coöperator, the competitor, the rival, the leader, the follower, the comrade. On the other hand, it contributes nothing of moment to forming the friend, the lover, the parent, the painstaking craftsman, the creative artist, or the seeker after truth.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Why have the instincts a bad name?
2. Account for the growth of drudgery.
3. Why is business more gratifying than machine-tending?
4. Explain the craving for recreation.
5. Why does want of recreation drive to vice?
6. Why does recreation give rise to grave moral problems?
7. Why does catered sport become debasing?
8. Name and describe the policies for dealing with demoralizing sports and amusements.
9. Show how play builds certain social virtues.

EXERCISES

289. When a man undertakes to explain to you why he likes his work, does he usually stress the worth-whileness of it to society?
290. Do you find a grate fire more enjoyable than a warm radiator? Does a blazing fire appeal to you more than glowing coals?
291. Analyze your feelings when you are in the midst of Nature and identify the items which give you most delight.

292. Contrast what the factory youth dreams about when he is at work and what the farm youth dreams about when he is at work.
293. Which is the wiser policy—to prune away from play and movie unwholesome sex suggestion? or to try to build in our young people characters that can resist it?
294. Why has the policy of suppressing recreation because so much of it is demoralizing gone bankrupt?
295. A generation ago the Family, the Church, and the School were the chief institutions relied on to form social character. What additional formative social institutions are now in sight?

CHAPTER XLIV

INSTITUTIONS—THE STATE

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THE state did not come into existence as an agency for preserving order and protecting the rights of the individual. Early crime is held in check by blood revenge or the vengeance of the local community. Nor did the state originate primarily as an organization for common defense against external foes. An emergency may, it is true, call into being a political headship but, after the danger is past, the former authorities resume sway. The fact is, a coercive organization has arisen generally *as a result of the conquest of one people by another*. Usually the conquered are tillers of the soil while the conquerors are a folk of hunters or herdmen, who abhor toil. The latter create the state in order to hold down the beaten, so that they may be thoroughly and continuously exploited. The masters of the state and the subjects of it are therefore altogether different peoples. The state exists not to *serve* those on whom chiefly it operates, but to *bleed* them. This explains the traditional harshness of the state, its bloody methods, its ferocity when opposed, its arrogant refusal to acknowledge limits to its authority, its contempt for public opinion and accepted moral standards. No people would frame such an organization if it were intended to bear upon themselves.

This type of state has invariably escaped the control even of the conquering folk which calls it into being. Regularly it comes to be the engine of a small social class, perhaps 10 per cent. of the dominant people, perhaps 4 or 5 per cent. How is it that so few are able to subjugate so many?

THE GENESIS OF ABSOLUTISM

It is due, in part, of course, to the *cunning organization of physical force*. The despot has his Pretorians, Varangians, Janizaries, Swiss, Cossacks, or pet guard regiments, privileged and well paid, or else a standing army of professional soldiers. The jealousies between subject races are dextrously played upon, so that as under the Hapsburgs the soldiers of one oppressed people delight in holding down another people.

Throne enters into partnership with altar in order that the state and its agents may be clothed with sanctity. Priests proclaim the Divine Right of kings, so that to resist the monarch is to lift hand against God's anointed. From the fifth century to the sixteenth this doctrine was coextensive with Christianity. Again, the state quite outgrew the social mind. It became imperial in responsibilities while the imaginations of the ignorant commoners who lifted on their shields their elected king were bounded by their tribe or township. The war chief or king with large conceptions, and far-reaching plans stood no chance of getting them past a popular assembly of unlettered narrow-minded men. Only those leaders who freed themselves from such hampering were able to accomplish much.

Nor should it be forgotten that the "estates," "diets," "*cortes*," "*witenagemots*," etc., which sought to curb the monarch were not truly representative of the people. They spoke for nobles, clergy, or wealthy burghers, who boded no good to the working masses. Hence it was easy for the monarch to rally the masses to his side when he defied the class oligarchies. Kings and commons stood together against the nobility.

Thus the state escaped the people's control and the larger part of mankind was delivered to Sultanism. In all Asia it seems to have occurred to no one that a ruler could be made accountable to the people. The idea of "citizen," which reached its flower in Greece, never even germinated in the Orient. The Asiatics knew government only as despotism tempered by assassination and even the Russians after long experience of the Mongol yoke lost their early liberties and became Asiatic in their attitude toward the ruler.

THE GERMINATION OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

Self-government, well worked out in the maritime city states of the Greeks, vanished from the world with the advent of the Cæsars to reappear only in the free cities which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sprang up in all parts of Europe. In time the expanding royal power brought them all under in France, Italy, Spain, and Russia. Only in Switzerland, England, and the Low Countries did absolutism meet with checkmate.

Thanks to the motives of their founding, to their being settled largely by liberty seekers, and to their opportunity to bring to fruition certain sturdy English and Dutch traditions, the English colonies in North America developed the principle that *government exists for the benefit of the people and is responsible to the people*. This principle, vindicated

in the American Revolution and spread broadcast by the French Revolution, has gone on from victory to victory until with the recent downfall of all the European autocracies its future is secure.

YOUTHFUL DEMOCRACY

In the infancy of modern democracy there was no question of setting up a people's government. A massive, venerable State was there, built up about the royal power and buttressed by Divine Right and the juristic doctrine of sovereignty. The strategy of the Commons was to rear barriers beyond which this State should not pass, to set constitutional bounds to it. In England and in the English colonies in America the representatives of the people denied the competency of the Crown to levy a new tax without their consent and took advantage of the financial necessities of profligate kings to extort royal recognition of their claim. By this "power of the purse" they got their hands on the brake of the car even if royalty still held the steering wheel. Alert to the peril of a standing army in the King's pay, they favored a militia as the means of national defense and asserted the right of the people to keep and to bear arms. To secure justice against the pressure from the King and his minions they contended that the judge appointed by the King should be free to follow his conscience in the performance of his duties, i.e., they stood for the "independence of the judiciary." They opposed the inheritance of offices, denied the Divine Right of kings, insisted that magistrates are trustees or servants, not masters, and proclaimed the unqualified right of the people to reform, alter, or abolish their government.

In order to provide the innocent individual with an ark of safety against irresponsible power they asserted the equality of all before the law and forbade that any one should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without "due process of law." Private property was not to be taken for public use without just compensation. There should be no unwarrantable searches and seizures. A person accused should have an open, fair, and speedy trial before a jury. No excessive bail should be required nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. The citizen was to be secure in his freedom of speech, of assemblage, of the press, of conscience, and of contract.

In time certain of these gyves bound upon government when it was an uncontrolled power became a nuisance, hampering the effective action of a State which had become responsive to the will of the people. There came a day when the railroads, the traction companies, and the trusts

taxed the people as the Stuarts had never dared to tax; when great corporations and employers trampled on the rights of the employee, the competitor or the patron with the arrogance of the officials of King John. And when the people endeavored to curb these new tormentors by orderly means the judges barred the way in the name of "due process of law," "freedom of contract," and "just compensation."

MATURED DEMOCRACY

Since the American Revolution a technique for the control of the State by the people has been gradually worked out. In a written constitution the political organs are described and their orbits drawn. Hereditary executives are dispensed with or become mere gilded figure-heads of state. No class has any preference in office holding. Officials are chosen for short stated terms and the official who misconducts himself may be retired by impeachment or recall. Since filling many offices by election confuses the voter and aids the political "boss," key positions are filled by election and the rest by appointment.

The legislator is to respect his mandate and "instructions," while by means of "initiative" and "referendum" the people have a check on their legislature. The suffrage has been extended to adults of all classes, while elections have been hedged about with restrictions designed to protect their purity.

As popular control moved forward in America on these lines the property interests most fearful of advancing democracy intrenched themselves in the political parties. By the lavish use of money through a long period they built up a control of party primaries and conventions and a technique for the winning of the electoral campaign. Here was the citadel of what came to be known as "invisible government." Within the last dozen years, however, by means of "direct primaries," the prohibition of contributions to political parties from corporations, the limitation of political expenditures, and the enforced publicity of campaign contributions and disbursements, this citadel has been made untenable. Of late the threatened interests have retired to the field of political opinion and seek to manipulate it by secret propaganda, by controlling speaking halls and printing presses, and by silencing or discrediting all who voice opinions which they dislike.

The long stern fight for the people's control of the State has made clear that there is a certain contradiction between political democracy and governmental efficiency. In forcing the barriers erected by ruling classes universal suffrage becomes as absolute as a religious dogma.

Perhaps when the principle is no longer in jeopardy we shall recognize that the vote of the imbecile, the pauper, the habitual lawbreaker, the illiterate, or the follower of an infamous occupation does no good either to the voter himself or to society.

Again, the people, in order that they may control all their government all the time, make the conditions of their service too hard. The principle of "no office-holding class," "pass the offices about," etc., discourages capable youths from preparing themselves for the public service. Direct primaries so burden the contestants with expense for personal publicity that strong men will not run for office. The people's right to recall a public official at will may put the expert at the mercy of the inexperienced before there has been time for his policies to make good.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT AND CENTRALIZATION

The passage from absolutism to popular sovereignty is accompanied by decentralization. As soon as the people have their way they refuse to wear the strait-jacket of uniformity and each self-contained locality or region insists on dealing in its own way with highways, irrigation, drainage, education, poor relief, trade, police, and justice.

Nevertheless, certain social changes favor centralization in spite of its bad name. Thanks to the improved facilities for communication, the growth of national consciousness has been so quickened* that it outruns and overtakes local consciousness. Since the people in all sections think and feel more in common, they more often desire the same laws and are more willing to act together. Again, this sharper national consciousness is uneasy if certain parts of the country are sadly behind the rest in respect to some essential such as law observance, school opportunities, or child protection. This brings into favor centralizing policies by means of which a national government may bring backward parts abreast of the main body.

THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

It is idle to attempt to lay down definitively the proper functions of the State, because its scope should depend upon such variables as the trend of social relationships, the development of the social mind, the advance of technique, the talent available for government, etc. Consider, for example, how the electric telegraph, aviation, irrigation, plant pathology, child study, genetics, and the doctrine of the influence of forests on rainfall and erosion have affected our conception of the duties of the State. No doubt other surprises just as great are in store for us. Suc-

cessfully to foretell the functions of the coming state would require one to anticipate discoveries and inventions which have not yet been made.

Nevertheless, we can recognize the chief factors upon which changes in the functions of the State depend. In our time we have witnessed the rise of telegraphs, telephones, tramways, pipe lines, gas supply, and electric lighting, which, being monopolistic in their nature, must be either operated or regulated by some public agency. Then continually new ways are discovered of bettering general conditions by means of collective action. The tracing of malaria to a certain species of mosquito puts upon the community the burden of destroying the breeding places of *anopheles*. Hundreds of millions are spent by public health bodies which would not be so spent but for the discovery of the germ origin of disease. The advance of agricultural science poses problems of great practical moment which can be solved only in the government experiment stations. In the same way, determination of the laws of heredity may one day call into being state institutions for the custodial care of all defectives.

Sometimes a new task is put upon government because the public has become aware of a social need hitherto unrecognized. This accounts for the provision of playgrounds in our cities, the establishment of social centers, the creation of public employment offices, the organization of forms of coöperation among farmers, the vocational guidance of youth, university extension and the determination of standards. The growing sensitiveness of society to bad conditions in any of its parts prompts it to sanction the use of government authority and money in order to level up districts or social classes which are at a grave disadvantage owing to preventable ill-health, bad housing, poor education, or lack of capital.

Finally, in the degree that it is brought immediately under popular control the State loses its old harshness and arbitrariness. Its imperious tone departs, it becomes suave and humane. As the people mark the change in its temper they cease to view it with their ingrained suspicion and jealousy and are more willing to avail themselves of its services.

WILL SOCIALIZATION CONTINUE?

A generation ago Lester F. Ward declared, "We are in the stone age of politics." The development since he uttered this *mot* proves how profoundly true it was. The *coercive* side of the State has not grown, but there has been an amazing expansion on the side of *service*. The symbols of force are vanishing from state occasions and public buildings. The typical agents of the State are coming to be not soldier and police-

man, but teacher, health inspector, coast guard, and forest ranger. Ruthlessness is dying out of government, so that our great stone prisons and their steel cages may some day be looked on as curiously as we look on the "witch towers" of the Middle Ages in which under the name "demoniacs" lunatics were tortured.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. How did the State originate?
2. How did absolutism establish itself?
3. How long was it after the vanishing of Greek democracy before the idea of people-rule reappeared?
4. Why did early democracy aim not to govern but to curb government?
5. What curbs did it impose on government?
6. Why is there a contradiction between democracy and efficiency?
7. Why does centralization go on despite democratic prejudices against it?
8. Why is the State constantly called upon to assume new functions?

EXERCISES

296. Would it be logical for judges to declare unconstitutional a law, approved by the people in a referendum vote, which appeared not to conform to the constitution?
297. What are the chief obstacles in this country to realizing an effective popular control over our national government?
298. What is the fallacy in the aphorism "You can't fool all of the people all of the time"?
299. Discuss these rival conceptions of the State: "The State exists to protect individuals in their rights"; "The State is an organization of all-of-us to promote any common interests which cannot so well be cared for by any other available agency."
300. Is the American State losing functions to Washington faster than it is gaining new functions?
301. Is the municipality losing functions to the state government faster than it is gaining new functions?
302. Do you see any good reason why the referendum check should apply more to the city government than to the state government and more to the state government than to the Federal Government?
303. In view of anti-child labor laws, school-attendance laws, family-desertion laws, and laws penalizing the parent for "contributing to a child's delinquency," would you say that the State is controlling parents rather than parents controlling the State?

PART V
SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

CHAPTER XLV

THE PRINCIPLE OF ANTICIPATION

THE shallow see the actions, good or bad, of persons and governments as so many isolated facts. For them the individual case of lying, extortion, pardon, subsidy, or charitable relief stands by itself. The thinker, however, perceives that mankind is always interpreting action as a clue to policy; and once persons subject to the action of others discover a policy behind it, they accommodate themselves as best they can to this policy. Hence, an action which leads those affected by it to anticipate like action in the future modifies their conduct, sometimes in ways unintended and undesired. The social scientist ought to *anticipate these anticipations* and thereby arrive at a judgment as to how particular policies will work "in the long run."

The principle of anticipation may be stated as follows: *Any established and known policy, whether of government, of a corporate body, or of an individual, which affects people favorably or unfavorably according to their present conduct, will come to be anticipated and will result in modifying behavior. Favorable action will call forth more of the conduct, condition, or type of character favored, while adverse action will tend to repress it.*

ANTICIPATION IN THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

Authorities object to paying a reward for the return of an abducted person, "no questions asked," because such a policy lays a financial foundation for the following of abduction as a business. There is a plain conflict of interest between the wealthy parent, concerned only to recover his child, and society, intent on discouraging the practice of kidnaping. The practice of "compounding a felony" illustrates a like conflict of interest and is justifiably frowned on by the law.

The authorities very properly go to great expense in order to pursue, ferret out, or extradite the individual lawbreaker for the reason that, if it is apparent that frequently the lawbreaker comes off scatheless, the dread of the law will be weakened in the hearts of the evil-disposed and crime will increase. On the other hand, a show of resolution and

relentlessness, a demonstration that the law will never give up and that in the end justice will always get its due, fills the hearts of bad men with a deterring dread.

The resort to the use of money by a railroad or public utility company in order to control a legislature acts in the end as a boomerang. The word runs through the political underworld that there is "easy money going" and grafters strive desperately to get themselves elected to the legislature. The quality of the legislators declines, "strike" bills multiply, the need of using money in order to protect the legitimate interests of the company grows, so that in the end the company is harder hit than if from the first it had taken its chances with the uncorrupted representatives of the people.

One of the most shortsighted policies on which an employer can embark is the hiring of spies to worm their way into the labor unions and warn him of their plans. A demand for trouble will not long remain unsatisfied. In order to prolong their employment spies take the lead in inciting to policies of outrage and thus stir up much of the mischief which their employer pays them for reporting.

Likewise for the employer to hire "watchmen" supplied by private detective agencies is to plunge into a quicksand. These agencies live off the dread of industrial violence; hence they see to it that there shall be no lack of violence. Since badly-frightened property-owners will hire more "watchmen," nothing is more profitable to the detective agencies than an epidemic of strikes, even of arson and murder. From the moment their mercenaries, recruited from the desperate and vicious elements, arrive on the scene a labor struggle enters upon a new and darker phase.

As the practice of tax-dodging becomes known, a resentment is inspired which prompts other persons to evade their taxes. This in turn becoming known creates still wider zones of resentment and evasion, until finally only moral heroes declare all their taxable property. The experience of several American states shows that in from five to eight years a stiffening of the tax laws designed to bring to light more personal property runs through such a cycle of demoralization ending in a state of things as bad as ever.

The pardoning of convicted persons is much more likely to be discounted and to lead to crime than the forgiveness of injuries. If the wronged person forgives the offender after having him in his power—heaps "coals of fire" upon his head—the latter's sense of fair play is powerfully appealed to and he is not likely to discount such forgiveness

by a wanton repetition of the offense. The state, however, cannot safely pardon unless there is clear evidence of sincere repentance and a desire for amendment. Forgiveness not based upon such repentance may easily constitute an encouragement to evil-doing. This, however, is not true of God's forgiveness of the wrongdoer, for God cannot be deceived by empty professions of repentance. The non-resentment of wrongs is more likely to lead to their repetition when *states* are concerned than when *persons* are concerned, for there is here no room for an appeal to the offender's better nature. A neutral's neglect promptly to protest against violation of its rights by a belligerent may encourage the belligerent to a contemptuous disregard of its rights which may end in war.

ANTICIPATION IN THE SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT

Taxes laid on voluntary actions or on the results of such actions have the same effect as fines for they modify behavior rather than yield revenue. Thus heavy taxes on windows may lead to shutting the light out of dwellings; on date trees may lead to chopping down the trees; on wine may cause the vines to be pulled up or the wine to be emptied into the river; on produce may throw land out of cultivation. Inheritance taxes may lead to gifts between the living unless these too are taxed; customs duties, to smuggling.

The substitution of taxation for grabbing has often been enforced upon despotic governments by a dim perception of the principle of anticipation. The more thoughtful observe that where wealth is seized rapaciously without rule or right there presently no wealth is produced. If the tax-gatherer leaves nothing which the cultivator can count on for his family, he emigrates, and soon the land is empty of taxpayers. This is one reason why, long before the advent of popular control, the revenue system of government was rationalized so as to guarantee to the wealth-producer a fixed and fore-knowable share of what he should produce.

ANTICIPATION IN INTER-INDIVIDUAL RELATIONS

"Honesty is the best policy" for one conducting a business or following a profession *in one place*, because in time customers or patrons anticipate the treatment they will receive and govern themselves accordingly. The merchant who overreaches his customers in ways they finally learn of presently has no customers. It was this same perception that induced the wild American Indians not to plunder the fur-trader who

ventured among them. Their leaders foresaw that if they robbed him no other fur-traders would come; so that the way to get guns and knives easily was not to take them by force, but to buy them with peltries.

A theater manager who has staged a play of high tone finds half his patrons bored and leaving him. But if he perseveres in the presentation of clean, fine drama he is presently recompensed by the patronage of people dissatisfied with what they get in other theaters and by a growing attendance from the non-theater-going public.

The lawyer who consistently refuses every case he does not believe in is likely to have a slender practice at first, but in time his reputation for championing only righteous causes gives his pleadings great weight with a jury and he will be much sought after because he has the name of winning his cases.

The writer, speaker, or expert witness who yields to the temptation to produce conviction by exaggeration and emphasis finds, unless he keeps on the move, that his influence diminishes; whereas the man who is consistently guarded and accurate in statement steadily grows in authoritativeness, provided that he is able to keep in the public eye.

The eloquent but mercenary spellbinder, after shifting twice or thrice to the side which offers him the more money, finds himself in a few years without a retainer, because the public has learned to discount his hired stump eloquence to such a degree that his services are no longer of value to a political party.

We are wary of itinerant peddlers, doctors, and promoters just because we realize that they are not subject, like the local merchant or practitioner, to the operation of the principle of anticipation.

One "spoils" children, not simply by being "easy" with them, but by being so easy with them that they *count on* favor and leniency. They observe that if they will not wash or dress themselves, somebody will do it for them; if they break or lose their toys, they are promptly replaced; if they transgress, the threatened punishment is never inflicted. The parent or schoolmaster who keeps himself *unpredictable* in the discipline of his children may safely forgive or overlook much.

ANTICIPATION IN THE SPHERE OF CHARITY

It is now more than a century since it became clear to the wise how paupers are created by thoughtless benevolence, how indiscriminate alms constitute a standing premium on idleness and unthrift. In its youth political economy rode this idea so hard that benevolence was put on the defensive and the hard heart supplied with reasons for doing nothing.

Later it was seen that charity may be "scientific" and that there is still a broad field for the help that does not harm.

The workings of anticipation in the field of charity are various and startling. If the beggar's whine opens the purse, mendicancy will be followed as a trade. If the moving "hard-luck" story draws forth alms, imposture will be developed into a fine art. If the maimed and twisted capture the coin from the passer-by, artificial deformations and mutilations will be forthcoming, as if society had announced: "Produce me such and such ghastly spectacles and I will pay for them."

In the Middle Ages the profuse and indiscriminate almsgiving of monasteries, hospitals, guilds, and magnates made it easy for the shiftless to live without work. A horde of professional beggars was created who wandered from place to place making the rounds of monastery, hospital and religious festival, and ever increasing in numbers and boldness. "Around the gates of S. Bartholomew and other great foundations," says Ashley, "gathered swarms of the miserably shiftless and idle, decrepit, halt, and maimed, covered with rags and filth, like those still to be seen around the entrance to many a Continental cathedral."

A system of public outdoor relief is likely to be counted on until it becomes in effect a bounty on idleness and improvidence. Under the Poor Law in force in England up to 1834 the pauper was often better off than the poor laborer, who was thereby disheartened in his struggle to maintain his independence. Hence, as time went on, the proportion of paupers grew. In some parishes rents were so generally paid by the vestry that the poor made no effort to provide their rent. Landowners have been known to tear down cottages so as to keep out pauper settlers and to draw their labor from surrounding parishes which made up the deficit in wages by an allowance. When farmers were allowed to have the labor of the idle at a shilling a day, the deficit being made up by the overseers of the poor, they turned away their laborers, thus creating an idle class, in order later to hire them back at the cheap rate. Where employers were required to hire paupers rather than the self-supporting, saving was seen to be a bar to employment, so that thriftlessness was encouraged. The policy of a regular allowance for the out-of-work prompted some laborers to be as lawless and useless at work as possible, in order that they might be discharged and supported in idleness.

The readier relief of the married man than of the unmarried encouraged reckless marriage.

The prospect of additional money for every child born into a pauper family removed the check which anxiety naturally places upon the size

of the family. The granting of 2s. a week for a bastard child, but only 1s. 3d. for a legitimate child, on the ground that the former had no father to support it, probably encouraged illegitimacy. Moreover, loose women with children were preferred as wives to modest women because of their incomes from the parish.

After 1834 the poorhouse became a workhouse; but its practice of giving lodging to destitute wayfarers created professional vagrants. The freedom to go and come called into being a class of loafers who availed themselves of the hospitality and the mixed company of the workhouse, but, when they craved a change, left it and lived as they pleased. When deterrent regulations were adopted, vagrants found jails more comfortable, and did little to escape imprisonment for a week or two for vagrancy or petty thievery.

A recent critic of the English workhouse writes:

It was a curious experience in visiting a large number of workhouses to find, as one went from one place to another, that what one had to look for was the most spacious and prosperous-looking institution in the place, set in the best-kept grounds, surrounded with expensive walls and handsome gates. . . . "Indoor-relief" has bred a class of lazy parasites, willing to submit to any conditions so long as they are well fed and relieved from all responsibilities. They are not even precluded from injuring the outside community, inasmuch as the law permits them to go in and out at their pleasure, using the workhouse as a convenient resort and a protection to their noxious lives from the discipline of hunger and cold.

The Poor Law Commission reporting in 1909 recommended that no outdoor relief be given save to persons leading respectable lives in decent houses. Slum areas should be proscribed, inasmuch as the attraction of these degraded areas lies, not in low rents—they are really high—but in the absence of restraint, and the liberty to overcrowd and to lead irregular lives which is to be found under the slum landlord.

Nothing so lends itself to anticipation as *endowed* outdoor relief, which is sure to become widely known and which works blindly, in good years as in bad years. Not only has it been found that in English cathedral towns with endowments for the poor pauperism is far greater than in other towns, but fixed doles always attract to a place more than enough paupers to absorb them all. No doubt many a down-and-out has drifted to New York because of the publicity the Sunday newspapers have given to the midnight "bread line" maintained by the endowment of the baker who started it.

In unexpected ways anticipation spoils the effect of the best-intentioned acts. The tender-hearted public which habitually turns aside to buy the wares of the smallest newsboy or peddler is unwittingly drawing children out of school and into industry. An enlightened kindness deals quite otherwise with the children in the street trades.

The giving of tips to waiters, after it has become general and customary, is of no benefit to them. The starvation wage received by porters in "standard" sleeping-cars in comparison with those of "tourist" sleeping-cars proves that the generosity of the traveling public has been anticipated and capitalized by their employer, the sleeping-car company.

The granting of a subsidy of public money to a private charity is often the beginning of a process of shifting the entire burden of supporting the institution upon the taxpayers without giving their representatives any control. "Those institutions that have received public aid the longest most commonly receive least from private contributors." Such aid "tends to dry up the springs of private benevolence."

Subsidies which vary with the number of dependents constitute "a standing premium to the institution to keep the inmates longer than is necessary and to develop the work in magnitude." Thus there is a "strong tendency on the part of subsidies to increase the problem with which the subsidized institutions have to deal."

In the beginning the payment of state subsidies is always urged on the ground of economy. With a given number of dependents in sight it is cheaper to hire an existing institution to care for them than to maintain them in a public institution. What the legislator overlooks is that, as soon as subsidy-granting has become an established policy of the state with respect to private institutions doing a particular kind of work (e.g., caring for dependent children), the number of qualified subsidy-claiming institutions begins to multiply, and ere long the charge upon the public is vastly greater than any one had foreseen. Who anticipated that the subsidy-earning institutions in Pennsylvania would grow from 8 in 1880 to 176 in 1905? In 1875 a speaker before the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, referring to the union of public and private benefactions in the charities of New York, predicted that most of the aided institutions would eventually become entirely self-supporting, thus relieving the public treasury. But he failed to take into account the effect of subsidy anticipation in drying up private benefactions and in increasing dependency. In 1870 New York City gave a third of a million dollars, i.e., a fifth of its appropriations for prisons and paupers, to private institutions. In 1898 it gave three and

one-seventh millions, or 57 per cent. At first the state is looked upon as coming to the aid of private charity. Eventually, private charity is looked upon as coming to the aid of the state.

When subsidies are granted to institutions caring for dependent children there is a vast increase in the number of such children. In New York City the number grew from 14,773 in 1875 to 33,406 in 1895. The annual subsidy to orphan asylums in the state of California grew from \$58,000 in 1880 to \$410,000 in 1898. "It has almost killed any efforts to place the children in family homes, has in a large measure demoralized many families whose children are thus supported, and has reacted unfavorably upon the spirit and motive of many of the charitable societies themselves."

ANTICIPATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

The policy of intimidating university professors uttering economic opinions distasteful to the men of wealth who constitute the governing board is in its outworkings one of the most mischievous that could be devised. Once it were understood that a professor is subject to supervision as to his utterances on questions of public interest, and liable to dismissal when these do not please the governing powers, men of virile character and independent mind would avoid the calling. In the end the quality and standing of the universities would be lowered. Again, unless radical professors are safe, conservative professors lose the confidence of the public. The one thing that makes it worth while to cite the judgment of university professors in opposition to wild and crude proposals is the freedom with which, in our universities generally, opinions of a different tendency can be expressed. Let it be understood that the conservative professor *has* to teach and talk as he does or lose his living, and his influence with the public is at an end.

ANTICIPATION IN THE REALM OF LAW

In the history of courts of justice one is struck by the fierce insistence that judges apply *law* and not their own notions of right and wrong. In the absence of statute judges are to apply *customary* or *common* law and, wanting even this guidance, they are to follow the trend of earlier decisions. This seems to have been prompted, not so much by mistrust of the individual judge, as by the need of knowing in advance the rules of conduct in order that one might discriminate the licit from the forbidden. So hotly has uncertainty been resented

that at times the people have sprung to arms because judges did the will of their royal master, or administered strange law instead of the ancient well-known laws of the realm.

It is just because a censor does not bind himself to decide according to explicit rules that censorship has such a paralyzing effect upon literary production. Thus Tolstoi once wrote:

You would not believe how, from the very commencement of my activity, that horrible censor question has tormented me. I wanted to write what I felt, but at the same time it occurred to me that what I wrote would not be permitted, and involuntarily I had to abandon the work. I abandoned, and went on abandoning, and meanwhile the years passed away.

So blighting is censorship that our unlicensed press is considered a "free" press, although it is certainly subject to legal prosecution for defamatory or seditious utterances. The national motion-film board of censors has been subjected to great pressure to formulate the principles of its discriminations, so that manufacturers may know in advance of production which films are likely to find favor.

It is owing to the principle of anticipation that law may often be adjusted to social needs without damage to private rights. Some strongly denounce a bankruptcy law, not perceiving that its action will be anticipated by creditors, who will protect themselves by including in the selling price of their goods an insurance premium for the risk they run. In like manner, a homestead-exemption act need not wrong creditors, for they will reckon on it when they lend.

In tropical South America I have heard peonage justified on the ground that the peons are so destitute that they need the right to pledge their labor after a bad season in order to procure from the planter the food necessary to keep them from starving. The true policy is to abolish the contract of peonage and let the laborer develop the capacity to look out for his future himself. Anticipating his plight without a master to fall back on, the laborer will be stimulated to save and to make himself a reputation for reliability. Thus he will rise in the moral scale.

Thanks to the principle of anticipation wise laws may be very potent in influencing economic life. Let the law provide adequate protection for some kind of property that does not exist—say artificial oyster beds on the bottom of Chesapeake Bay—and if the state of the oyster market justifies it capital will be invested. Since capitalists

are likely to have both foresight and far-sight, nothing is so shrewdly discounted as laws and conditions affecting invested capital. A general attack upon the institution of property or random condemnation of the rich without discrimination will discourage saving or investment. On the other hand, a discriminating agitation to curb a certain kind of property or to convert it to public uses need not check accumulation or investment. This is why, after a reform movement affecting some species of property has been worked up by radicals, it will succeed better if carried out by a conservative statesman who is not suspected of having other anti-property reforms "up his sleeve."

It is not well always to give property the benefit of the doubt. The historic decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Fletcher vs. Peck*, validating a huge grant of public land so fraudulent that every member but one of the legislative majority which voted it was interested and a party to the transaction, was a great encouragement to capitalists to engage in the corruption of legislatures. The decision made every grant of special privilege, every act bestowing property or creating new property, even if obtained by grossest bribery, a vested right which no subsequent legislative act could rescind. The Dartmouth College decision, declaring all corporate charters and franchises irrepealable contracts, was a standing invitation to the commercial company to bend every effort to control the law-making body long enough to obtain a franchise after its own heart.

ANTICIPATION IN THE SPHERE OF RELIGION

Heresy-hunting seems defensible until one looks ahead and notes how the practice will affect the composition of the clergy. No matter how fixed in the doctrines of his church a man may feel himself to be at the time of his entering the ministry, he should allow for the possibility of growth and change. The greater his intellectual vigor and the more independent his mind, the more this possibility becomes a probability. Hence, the prospect of being unfrocked for heresy after one is committed to one's calling and well on in life will repel from the ministry virile young men likely to make the pulpit a power; but it will not deter those weaker in intellect or character. The church that is jealous for the dignity and leadership of its clergy will satisfy itself as to the orthodoxy of those whom it ordains, but, save in extreme cases, it will not pursue with a heresy trial the clergyman who has come into disagreement with its creeds. It will leave the question of his continuance in its pulpit to his conscience and sense of propriety.

DEDUCTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

It is recognition of the workings of this principle that makes the chief difference between the attitude of the intellectual and that of the emotionalist in matters of policy. The emotionalist says: "This couple are unhappy together. Why not let them go their separate ways?" The intellectual replies: "Make divorce too much a matter of course and instead of having fewer unhappy marriages you will have more. For people will form risky and unstable unions because they know they can obtain a divorce if the union does not turn out well. Lessen the amount of caution and seriousness in marriage and the number of unions calling for divorce surgery will grow." The emotionalist says: "What is the good of hanging this murderer and orphaning his children? Have pity and let him go." The intellectual replies: "A too-free use of the pardoning power encourages the evil-disposed to yield to their criminal impulses, and thereby augments the amount of suffering among the innocent."

A few seasons back an emotionalist in the United States Post-Office Department directed postmasters to turn over "Santa Claus" letters to local philanthropic societies. It was not long before the number of moving and apparently naïve petitions to Santa Claus from artful children for sleds, skates, and other objects of juvenile desire greatly multiplied, and the local societies came to realize that they were being "worked." The order had to be rescinded. The emotionalist set up a revolving cradle in front of the foundling asylum so that foundlings might be deposited secretly. The theory was that this facility of disposal would do away with the murder of undesired infants. It certainly resulted in an alarming growth of illegitimacy and an irresponsible dumping of children upon the foundling asylums.

The principle of anticipation does not tell against the relieving of distress *which has not been brought about nor could have been averted by any act of the sufferer*. Widowhood, orphanhood, loss of health, and distress arising from such unforeseeable calamities as fire, flood, war, earthquake, or epidemic may be relieved without fear of pauperizing the unfortunates.

Again, *if only the lesser part of a particular kind of distress can be relieved*, the prospect of relief will not tend to augment the volume of such distress. Thus well-guarded accident or sickness insurance need not increase the number of cases of accident or sickness. Free medical clinics or hospitals or dispensaries will not weaken the health of a

people, although they may slacken the endeavor to lay by sums to provide medical attendance.

The more the relief of the destitute and the pardon of the wrong-doer are *discriminating and based on a knowledge of merit in the individual case*, the less will such action be presumed on by the unworthy. Carried away by their discovery that help and mercy, by being reckoned on encourage idleness and crime, the early social scientists seemed to bring under suspicion all charity and pity beyond one's own circle. We now deem it safe to give rein to these nobler impulses provided that their action waits on thorough investigation. Wise relief or leniency implies not only discrimination, but discrimination based on a sound principle. This principle is that *anti-social types of conduct and character should not be encouraged*. In the administration of an old-age pension system the problem must be faced whether pensions shall be granted to habitual drinkers and persons who have gained their livelihood by vice, such as gamblers, tipsters, liquor dealers, panderers, and streetwalkers.

It is now clear that good things made gratuitous do not pauperize. Getting something for nothing does not pauperize. Only those gifts pauperize *which, being anticipated, encourage undesirable types of behavior and character*. Free schools and universities, free lectures and libraries, free museums and art galleries, free social centers and churches, free entertainments and band concerts, free playgrounds, athletic fields, swimming-pools, and baths do not pauperize, seeing that they make people stronger and better and wiser, not more lazy, self-indulgent, or vicious.

The pioneers in social science also went too far in condemning mercy. A discriminating treatment of offenders is justifiable. The probation of first offenders holds no cheer for the professional criminal. The parole of convicts who have "made good" is not likely to encourage lawbreaking. Substituting reformatory for penal institution does not lower the hedge against crime; for if there is one thing the evil-disposed regard with horror it is reformation, especially after they learn of the regimen by which reformation is brought about.

Publicity feeds anticipation; hence *we should shun publicity for things we do not wish people to anticipate*. Pardon, save of those exonerated, should be kept quiet, mercy should work under cover, charity should be furtive. "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." The secret help that passes between kinsfolk, friends, comrades, neighbors, fellow-workers, and fellow-members

of the same church or lodge or union does little harm. On the other hand endowments or fixed funds or special taxes set aside for the relief of the poor, because they become well known, are more likely to breed poverty than the fluctuating relief flowing from the current contributions of the charitable.

*We should court publicity for things we wish people to anticipate—*rewards or benefits held forth for desirable kinds of conduct or character. There cannot well be too much publicity for conditions of security of life and property, protection of contracts, low taxes, bounties, tax exemptions, military or civil pensions, thrift agencies, government aid to industry, honorary titles, scholarships, hero medals, and monuments or honors to public men.

It is in the contrasted effects it produces in consequence of being anticipated that *social reform* is so much superior to *charity* in dealing with widespread or chronic misery. Think of the competition which determines the distribution of income in society as a race in which all who run receive, according to their speed and endurance, prizes varying in value from a trifle to a fortune. *Charity* now comes in to relieve the distress of those who from lameness, or having stumbled, or being tripped, are unable to win even the trifle. But since running is not easy and the petty prizes for the slowest runners leave them worse off than those succored by charity, many resort to the trick of stumbling or giving up when they are really able to run. And the more *charity* does, the more malingerers there are.

Altogether different are the methods of *social reform*. It removes from the course the stones and pitfalls by which runners are thrown down. It punishes tricky runners who trip up or "spike" those who are just ahead of them and in their way. By a little forethought it greatly lessens the number of halt and ailing who cannot even enter the race. By providing all with a little instruction and training in the art of breathing, running, taking hurdles, etc., the number of those who can manage their feet well is greatly increased. Then, since there is much that is arbitrary in the relative magnitude of the prizes for swiftness, *social reform* aims to cut down the big prizes and add to the size of the prizes for ordinary running. Since it notices among the great throng of competitors some who without exertion are able to capture fine prizes in motorcycles or automobiles won in some previous race or left them by their fathers, it endeavors to handicap these contestants in the interest of those who rely on their legs.

To be sure, this image is faulty in that the running does not create

the prize, while in the real world there would be no prizes were there no running. But for the purpose of contrasting the methods of *charity* and *social reform* the image is fair enough. *Charity* in caring for the crippled or unlucky unwittingly tempts others to drop out of the race. *Social reform* fits more persons to run, shows them how to develop their speed, clears their course, encourages the slow with bigger prizes, and altogether incites a much larger proportion to get into the race and do their best.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. State the principle of anticipation.
2. Illustrate it in the treatment of crimes.
3. How does taxation differ from pillage?
4. Illustrate the proposition: "In time everything dishonest is discounted."
5. Show how charitable relief will be anticipated.
6. Why do conservative professors insist upon academic freedom for their radical colleagues?
7. What is the great objection to heresy-hunting?
8. How can we make sure that our charity and mercy will not be abused?
9. Contrast charity and social reform.

EXERCISES

304. Under what circumstances will pardon not encourage a repetition of the offense?
305. Why did the adoption of scientific principles of taxation begin long before the people came into the control of government?
306. How can you reconcile the paragraph on how children are spoiled with the maxim that children should be under the *law* of the home or the school, not under *caprice*?
307. Should the indemnity received by a man crippled in an industrial accident be diminished to the extent that the man by acquiring skill in another occupation recovers earning power?
308. Why do conservative professors often protest as strongly as radical professors against the violation of academic freedom by governing boards?
309. Discuss the problem raised as to old-age pensions.
310. Discuss Malthus' contention that dependence ought to be held disgraceful.
311. Show that the wise social policy is: Concealment of every benefit of the nature of *relief*, publicity for every benefit of the nature of *reward*.
312. Why is there less danger in the free dispensing of medicine to the sick than of food to the hungry?
313. Why do free meals and shelter pauperize, but not free libraries and swimming pools?

CHAPTER XLVI

THE PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUALIZATION

AS little societies coalesce into a big society; as tribal and local cultures vanish before the spread of a general culture; as men are drawn into organizations and more sides of human life are regulated, less play is given to individuality. All of the same group or class are lumped together, the differences among them being ignored. Industry, manners, morals, laws, policies are fitted not to the *individual*, but to the *average*. Since most men deviate from the average, most men feel discomfort under the social régime. It is as if they all had to wear clothes of the same size and cut.

THE FACTORY LOCKSTEPS THE WORKERS

Compare individual labor with collective labor. In handicraft industry the artisan works with his own tools in his own shop at his own pace, beginning and ending the day to suit himself. When he feels like it, he can knock off a bit to stretch himself or smoke a pipe. To-day he may be up with the lark in order to quit early; to-morrow he may sleep late and make up for it by working into the night. Factory industry, however, subjects the workers to an *impersonal* régime. The speed of the machine regulates the pace of work. Length of the working day, time of beginning and ending, rests, holidays—all are accommodated to the average workman or else to the stronger. Such labor will be more irksome than an equal amount of go-as-you-please labor. Since this is so and since machine production is here to stay, the machine tender's workday should be short in order that he may individualize along cultural lines.

THE MACHINE PRODUCES FOR THE AVERAGE, NOT THE INDIVIDUAL

Impersonal, too, is the product of the machine. In olden days the carpenter made a chest for the silversmith one day, the silversmith a cup for the carpenter on another, and they wrought in sympathy. The knowledge of human necessities and the consciousness of human good

will entered into their work and thus men were linked together. But to-day the factory operative makes only a bit of a thing and has no thoughts about the man who will use the thing he helps make; while this thing is not made for any particular person but for "the public." If you are suited by some one of the types turned out by the machine, well and good; if not, it is almost impossible to obtain the kind of thing you really want. Artists agree that machine production for the market is without the interest excited by hand production for an individual and the products are neither significant nor beautiful.

MACHINE-MADE DRAMA

Nor is impersonalization confined to the satisfaction of the lower wants. When the art economy was dominant the people acted their own "mystery" plays in the churches. Each parish chose its "mystery," the parts were assigned to the best actors in the parish, and the representation was the result of the creative personal effort of the community. Oberammergau long has harbored drama of this kind. Nowadays, when the machine economy is dominant, a motion-picture syndicate decides what shall be filmed. Each film must be suited to the average audience, for it will be shown all over the country. The local manager has no option as to the films he shall present in his theater. The films are dispatched from one town to another in their strict turn and an exception made for one town would derange the whole centralized distribution. Hence the photo-plays fall into well-marked types—the Far West play, the ante-bellum Old South play, the detective play, the drama of the big-city underworld, the historical pageant type, the play with the child-woman heroine, etc. Who can detect in these productions the personality of the maker? Yet that personality gives the stamp of true art. No wonder they all die a natural death in a few months!

THE ARMY MACHINE

The military régime takes little account of personal *differentiæ*. Since in warfare joint action triumphs over individual action, the tyranny of the average is well-nigh absolute. Little consideration is given to the exceptional man, or to the flow and ebb of energy and feeling in the individual. Barracks and camp are the places of sacrifice of hosts of innocent personal desires. Compare the pleasure from a beautiful stroll with that from marching with a platoon over the same route. The chief points in the soldier's day are fixed, the chief processes

standardized. His golden moments are when "on leave" he can lay off this irksome harness and indulge in an orgy of self-prompted actions.

THE GOVERNMENTAL MACHINE

Imperial governments, being without check from the governed, override national, local and individual differences. The later Roman Empire became a cumbrous mechanism which bore cruelly upon the hearts and lives of men. In the words of Cooley: "A centralized bureaucratic structure left the individual and the local group no sphere of self-reliant development. Public spirit and political leadership were suppressed, and the habit of organized self-expression died out, leaving the people without group vitality and as helpless as children." The poet Tagore characterizes the present government of India as "untouched by human hand" and likens it to "a hydraulic press whose pressure is impersonal and on that account effective." It is "a mere abstract force in which the whole population of a distant country has lost its human personality."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL MACHINE

The religious bigot eager to make one form of religion prevail and to suppress by force all variants is prey of the lumping fallacy. Individuals differ in the demands their natures make upon religion. They will be happier if they may choose freely among several types with unlike emphasis upon dogma and rite, upon thought and emotion. According to the pragmatist William James, "Ideas (which themselves are but parts of our experience) become true just in so far as they help us to get into satisfactory relations with other parts of our experience." Such a doctrine simultaneously justifies an immense variety of different beliefs in different people.

THE EDUCATIONAL MACHINE

The educator has been an arch-sinner against human diversity. One would suppose that from the beginning teachers would adapt mental pabulum to immature minds. Yet for thousands of years the content of children's education has been the religious and literary classics. The idea of starting the child with simple matter adapted to its comprehension is scarcely three centuries old. In religious instruction the idea of graded material has hardly even yet won the day. The rigid curriculum of study has been a Moloch to which personal tastes and needs have been ruthlessly sacrificed. Another insatiate idol is the examination

system. Some intellects above the normal cannot "stand and deliver" under this system. In excusing his daughter William James remarked, "No James ever could pass an examination." To rate ability and proficiency by the answers made to given questions in a given time is something that would occur only to unimaginative minds; yet in England it is said to be a common practice to give a man a university position on his performance in the examination room.

In the little ungraded school the child progresses according to its capacity. Then a system grows up which impounds the child with thirty-nine others in a class the pace of which is adapted to the powers of the average member. All forty move in lockstep. The bright children are bored and demoralized; the dull learn next to nothing. No one would insist that they should all wear clothes of the same size; yet we lace them in an educational strait-jacket, because we cannot see the grotesque misfits which result.

THE MACHINE OF CHARITABLE RELIEF

In dealing with the poor the besetting vice is *lumping them together*. One social philosopher looks upon them simply as the unfit. Another regards them as the unadapted. To a third they are by-products of our industrial system. To a fourth they are victims of social injustice. Thrift, temperance, godliness, hygiene, education, single tax on land values, socialism and communism—each has been offered as a sure cure for poverty. A hundred schemes have been broached for relieving the poor by wholesale treatment. But close acquaintance with the dependent discloses a great variety of characters and causes. No social worker expects poverty to disappear save by the coöperation of many agencies and policies. The only method followed in modern charity is the "case" method. Just as nostrums have been discredited and no physician thinks of treating disease save after study and diagnosis of the individual patient, so the social worker insists on full knowledge of the case and adapts his form of help to that particular family.

THE MACHINE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

There is a stage at which impersonal treatment of the wrongdoer seems very splendid. We expect officials to depersonalize their relations to the public, to act "without fear or favor." We praise the editor who is impersonal in printing the news, who publishes impartially the disgrace of his best friend and the triumph of his worst enemy. We call for a clergyman who shall be "no respecter of persons." He

must denounce the misconduct of his trustee or "pillar" as he denounces that of his humblest parishioner. The bandage over the eyes of Justice symbolizes that Justice knows not whether the suitor is lord or hind.

Out of this horror of partiality comes, however, the classical school of criminology which will have offenders dealt with impersonally.

The eighteenth century reformers assumed that each lawbreaker is morally responsible. It follows, then, that all who have committed the same offense are equally guilty and should receive like treatment. Punishment is to be meted out not according to the nature of the offender but according to the nature of his offense. Hence the legislator attaches a fitting penalty to each type of crime and the sole duty of the court is to ascertain whether or not the accused has broken the laws. This system does away, to be sure, with the old-time arbitrary judge, harsh or lenient according to the social importance of the culprit before him. But in order to rid justice of this offensive personal element, there is created a machine which grinds up alike the young and the hardened, the simple and the cunning, the well-intentioned and the wicked, the chance offender and the professional.

Little by little the administration of Justice has been humanized by admitting exceptions and discriminations. Is the offender of sound mind? Was he in full possession of his faculties? Were there extenuating circumstances? Was there great provocation? Is it his first offense or is he a repeater? Finally the idea that what is being punished is not a *deed* but a *man* triumphs and we have the modern school of criminology, which likens sentencing an offender to prison for a fixed term to prescribing so many weeks in the hospital for a sick man. The patient is let out when he is well and the criminal should be let out when he is fit to be at large.

THE MISERY OF BEING LUMPED WITH THE UNLIKE

On the exceptional lumping imposes the pain of misfit. Too much of it produces a chronic distress like that of wearing clothes that "bind," sleeping on a slope, walking on soles of differing thickness or rowing with oars of unequal lengths. In those who are brought up under the lumping system, e.g., the inmates of the old-fashioned orphan asylum, personality is stunted and they go through life less eager and reactive than they should be. Under the later Roman Empire the unfortunate Græco-Latins, prisoners of a contracting system, felt themselves emasculate, incapable of the grand emotions and initiatives of their forefathers in the old free heroic days.

INDIVIDUALIZING EDUCATION

If we are not to become automatons as more of life is standardized and we come under the stricter discipline large organization imposes, we must take more account of individual differences and make proper discriminations. When possible school children of each year should be grouped according to mentality and the class for teaching should comprise those of about the same mental gait. Or class work may be individualized by encouraging the child on each topic the class takes up to do an amount of work corresponding to its powers. Promotion, instead of being confined to certain times, should occur whenever the child is ready for it. Mere passive absorption by the pupils should content no teacher; they should be stimulated to react. In the high school no single text should be swallowed whole. The pupil should do collateral reading and compare viewpoints. In college the rigid curriculum should give place to the free choice of studies under advice while the lecture should be relegated to a subordinate place in teaching.

INDIVIDUALIZING SOCIAL WORK

In the care of dependents, the orphanage should make way for the placing-out system. The doling out of supplies to needy people should be anathema. The maxim "not alms but a friend" strikes the true note. Almsgiving which is promiscuous should be thought of not as God-pleasing but as God-offending. Each poor family should be held to present a problem by itself. For certain kinds of dependents guarded outdoor relief is more individualizing and humane than institutional care. By sorting out from it the children, the sick, the feeble-minded, the insane and the vagrant, the almshouse from being a dumping ground for the refuse of humanity becomes a home for the aged and respectable poor.

INDIVIDUALIZING JUSTICE

In the treatment of wrongdoers, lumping survives in the unhesitating and sweeping condemnation of the "scarlet woman," in the "jail bird" stigma which bars the discharged prisoner from honest employment, in the confusion of "political" with "common" offenders, in the treatment of "conscientious objectors" as if they were vulgar recalcitrants, in uniform treatment of types so distinct as the born criminal, the habitual criminal, and the occasional criminal. Individualization calls for the recognition of nervous disorders, passion, suggestion, and

obsession as limiting responsibility in the sane; for the application of the suspended sentence with probation and the indeterminate sentence; for the establishment of the juvenile court and the detention home for juvenile offenders; for the differentiation of workhouse from jail and prison; for the restricted use of the prison stripe and for the treatment of convicts as so many human individuals.

INDIVIDUALIZING GOVERNMENT

Government passes from arbitrary discriminations based on birth, sex, income, creed, nationality or race through a period of flat democratic treatment to fresh discriminations based upon logic. "One man one vote" looks good until it is discovered that two and one half per cent. of our draft registrants are weak-minded. They were held unfit to be soldiers and they are equally unfit to be voters. After negro domination has done its worst negro suffrage is qualified by a literacy requirement. After the "open door" has filled this country with people who look upon it as a polyglot boarding house we apply the reading test to immigrants. We cease to lump children with adults. We remove them from the factory and send them to school. Discrimination is set up between the sexes, working women being given a protection which does not extend to men workers. If a class is not able to protect itself against another class and there is a public interest involved, the courts deem a law on its behalf not "class legislation" but "reasonable classification." By this means that stiff plane, "freedom of contract," has been bent in a dozen places.

Instead of multiplying laws the detailed regulation of industry is effected by means of the easily-modified orders of a state industrial commission. Exemptions are granted that a statute would never allow and special orders issue to take care of peculiar cases. Marriage, once an indefeasible right of the unwedded adult, is denied certain classes of defectives. Instead of the old genial assumption that any citizen is fit for any post, the law creating a board provides that the members shall be engineers, physicians, psychiatrists, economists, social workers, accountants, employers, merchants, practical farmers, etc., according to the work to be done.

INDIVIDUALIZING INDUSTRY

The wiser employers are not lumping their workfolk as employers used to do. The individual workman is studied in order to land him in the job he is best fitted for. Physical examination at hiring helps to

a more intelligent dealing with the employee. A watchful nurse and a doctor look after the ailing. A well-handled "suggestion box" draws out of the force a surprising number of valuable ideas. The prompt and fitting recognition of unusual individual service or merit improves morale. A brass plate bearing the engine-driver's name is affixed to the locomotive. The highway commission puts up a sign on each stretch of state road showing who patrols it. In a business house the name of the man at the wicket is shown by a bronze marker. In some establishments each man's performance is studied and if it falls off unaccountably investigation is set afoot to locate the source of the trouble. Employees are not poisoned trying to digest their grievances, for there is a bureau which will look into every man's complaint and see that he gets justice. Instead of "firing" a workman at the instance of a single foreman, he is tried out in different departments until he fits in or proves hopeless. The making of these discriminations costs time and money, but science is providing precise means of making them and the results in greater efficiency, good will and happiness prove that they are worth all they cost.

MOST LUMPING CAN BE DISPENSED WITH

There will, of course, be a certain amount of lumping when, as in warfare or class strife, effective mass action is called for. Aside from such dictated instances, lumping is due either to heartlessness or to ignorance and stupidity. In centralized military empires there is tenderness for the interests and feelings of the individual members of the privileged class but ruthless iron uniformity for the despised masses. In green democracies flat treatment prevails, not from heartlessness but because the past has made every form of discrimination hateful. But in time it is seen that equal treatment of unequals is crying injustice. As the odious old classifications of people are forgotten men dare to make new classifications based on need, service or social value. The finer these classifications, the less is the sacrifice to the average. In the end every normal man can be well cared for just as every normal man can be fitted with a ready-made suit of clothes, provided that suits are made in a sufficient number of shapes and sizes.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. Account for the spread of the practice of lumping.
2. Compare the strain of collective labor with that of go-as-you-please labor.
3. What do you understand by the phrase "the governmental machine"?

4. Exhibit lumping in the field of education.
5. How can you individualize social work?
6. How can you individualize the treatment of offenders?
7. How can you individualize government?
8. How can you individualize industry?

EXERCISES

314. Discuss the prospect of individual go-as-you-please labor ever recurring in industry.
315. Discuss the prospect of production-to-order ever narrowing the scope of production-for-the-market.
316. If, of the varieties of Christianity in this country, we might keep only five, which five would you consider most worthwhile in respect to satisfying the various types of intelligence and temperament in the population? Reasons.
317. What are the chief sins of lumping which have been committed in dealing with the poor?
318. What are the chief sins of lumping which have been committed in dealing with law-breakers?
319. What sins of lumping have you seen committed by teachers and educators?
320. What would you do if you undertook to individualize the bestowal of primary political power, i.e., the suffrage?

CHAPTER XLVII

THE PRINCIPLE OF BALANCE

EACH of the elements in society intellectually qualified to lead strives always to make its special views prevail. It pushes its influence as far as it can and is checked only by the spirit of independence or by the influence of some other element.

Each class or profession is quite sure that, if only society would submit to its guidance, all would be well. Yet the truth is that no one element is wise enough to be followed blindly in all matters. The reason is not lack of ability, but the *bias* to which it is subject by reason of its *esprit de corps* or its distinctive work and manner of life. Its judgment becomes warped by its special psychology. When, however, the leadership of society is shared among the various important elements, their special habits of thought neutralize one another, and the resultant is, on the whole, reasonable.

One demonstrates the existence in each element of a bias which unfits it for unqualified leadership by showing what has actually happened when some element has gained such ascendancy that it has been able to mold society, as it were, to its heart's desire.

THE RULE OF THE DEAD

The *dead* count as a social element, for their recorded experience and transmitted institutions may be big factors in the life of their descendants. When the living acknowledge an initial presumption in favor of whatever has survived from the past, yet preserve toward it a scrutinizing critical attitude, the generations are in proper balance. But when present reason is held weaker than that of some golden or classical age, we have *the rule of the dead*.

One fetter of such enslavement is fear of offending the spirits of the departed; hence, blind conservatism is especially strong wherever, as in the Far East, *ancestor worship* prevails. Another gyve is *over-valuation of whatever is classic*. For example, the premium the old state-examination system of China put upon the writings of certain thinkers who lived long before our era tended to shackle the original

minds of each generation. The embryo Pasteur or Edison was so intimidated by the universal opinion that wisdom died with the sages that he could bring forth nothing. Gone were the old inspiring days when the Chinese invented gunpowder, block-printing, banknotes, porcelain, the compass, the compartment boat and the taxicab.

Again, the living are paralyzed by the notion that *some period or product of the Past is holy*, that of yore the gods were nigher to men, that then they revealed their will through channels which have since become choked. Nearly every people reveres some ancient scripture, or institution of such transcendent prestige that the living dare not probe or criticize it. No Arab to-day stands on a footing with the writer of the Koran; no Jew with the giver of the Mosaic Law; no Celestial with Confucius; no Parsee with Zoroaster. As for inherited institutions, we see two hundred millions of Hindus divided into three thousand hereditary castes, between which there is no marriage and very little social intercourse, and from which no man can escape. In taking over this terrible burden without inquiring into its authority or worth, the living become thralls to certain ideas and decisions of their remote ancestors.

The slavish following of musty precedents by courts of justice is another form of the rule of the dead; so is *the allowing of donors to fix for all time the use to which their endowments shall be put*. A written constitution, made so hard to amend as to deny to later generations the creative freedom enjoyed by the makers of the instrument, is also a yoke upon the living.

The subjection of the living to the dead flouts the law that *life is correspondence to environment*. Hence, the stiffening of traditions and institutions is a kind of *rigor mortis*. The idea that sages should mark a groove for society for all time trips on the fact that society ceaselessly changes. Finding itself in a plight unforeseen by its ancestors, a people casts about for an adjustment. Conservatives, who brand this quest as folly or sacrilege, deny society the sacred right of self-determination.

MASCULINISM

While women, owing to their being largely occupied with bearing and rearing children, have developed fewer specialists than men, they ought to be conceded a large social influence in order to counteract certain bad masculine tendencies. The fighting instinct of the male sex seriously unfits it to take sole charge of society. Many wars have no other cause, and if the policies of states obeyed the wills of *men and*

women rather than of *men* only, the world would enjoy more peace. Male pugnacity conceives government as mere keeper of the lists rather than as machinery for serving certain common needs. To the ultra-he-men soldier and policeman appear as fit symbols of the state, whereas the teacher, the school nurse, the factory inspector, the health officer, the rural organizer, and the agricultural adviser are but doubtful representatives of the state's purposes.

By "business" a rational being understands the social system of making goods and getting them to the consumers. That the claims of business should take precedence over life and limb, over health and family, is monstrous. Yet the fighting instinct leads thoughtless men to look upon it as a prize ring, in which, of course, somebody is bound to get hurt. This is why good men long justified child labor, the wrecking of the health of working girls, the night work of women, preventable work accidents. Even yet many disinterested men feel that stopping the sale of diseased meat or "doctored" canned goods is unfair interference, like depriving prize fighters of their best blows and ruses. Women, on the contrary, insist, in their simplicity of mind, that the palming off of putridity and poison, under the guise of food, upon mothers buying nourishment for the children they have risked their lives to bring into the world is not in any sense *business*, but *villainy*.

Male irrationality comes out again in the *needless taking of chances*. Human reason labors continually to eliminate hazard, and all insurance rests on the reasonable desire to substitute certainty for risk. Yet men who sweat for their money will gamble away their week's wage in an evening. No one, however, has ever seen working women regularly risk their wages on a card. Women have an instinct for security and strive to lessen risk, while men fatuously create it. In gold-mining camps recklessness is habitual, and to save himself a little trouble in handling explosives and timbering shafts the miner endangers the life he is toiling to enrich. After the arrival of wives men gain a rational view and learn to shun needless dangers.

Men nearly monopolize the consumption of alcohol and narcotics, even though many are well aware of the harm these do. Women, having more self-control, shrink from self-poisoning. In the slums the spread of heavy drinking among women is a sure sign of demoralization born of despair. In China the women never generally took to opium smoking till the district was hopeless. Doubtless woman's gain in social influence will make for a firmer dealing with race poisons. Again,

women have too much common sense to commit the follies men have committed in the penal field. One cannot imagine them treating juvenile offenders as if they were adult, expecting to make bad men good by solitary confinement, shutting up people who cannot pay their debts, imprisoning persons without any provision for feeding them, or settling cases by judicial combat. Only men are foolish enough to persist in applying pain to offenders without self-control, who manifestly can never be improved by punishment.

CLERICALISM

The undue ascendancy of the religious profession gives rise to what may be termed "clericalism." A well-recruited clergy, keyed up by exacting moral and intellectual standards, renders valuable services if it commands public confidence in a sufficient degree to exercise a qualified leadership in matters of faith and conduct. Always, however, the clergy should be balanced by other intellectual groups lest they torment the people with those austerities which regularly develop in an unchecked clerical class. It is not a question here of an unspiritual and self-seeking priesthood exploiting a credulous people. Our problem is, What will happen when an able, conscientious, resolute, and well-organized clergy gains such an ascendancy that they are able to have their way with a people? The materials for answering this question are abundant. In seventeenth-century Spain, Scotland, and Massachusetts, in the Mexico, Peru, and Colombia of two generations ago, in the Russia of yesterday, and in the Ireland and Quebec of to-day may be read the tendencies that lurk in clerical control.

In case the religion encourages self-dedication, the influence of the clergy causes a larger number of persons to turn their backs on natural "worldly" aims and give themselves to the religious life. Coupled with the growth of endowments for religious purposes, this results in cramping the economic development of the people. Three centuries ago in Spain there existed upward of nine thousand monasteries, besides nunneries. One hundred clergy cared for the services in the Cathedral of Seville. In the diocese of Seville there were fourteen thousand chaplains; in Calabarra, eighteen thousand!

Growth in the number and richness of sanctuaries is a sure sign of the prevalence of the clerical view that such sacrifices are God-pleasing. In certain settlements of the foreign-born in this country one comes upon a superb stone parish church in the open country, ten miles from town, while for miles around the farm-houses are poorer,

meaner, and barer than those of the neighboring Americans. There is also a tendency to "enrich" the religious services and to multiply sacraments, thereby exalting the importance of the priests. When, as in seventeenth-century Scotland, worship is not free to develop toward sacerdotalism, sermons become so long and so frequent as to absorb all leisure. At that time ministers would relieve one another in the pulpit. The same congregation would remain sometimes for ten hours together, and in a single Edinburgh church not less than thirty sermons were delivered every week.

Where the clergy are unopposed, religion lays a heavy tax on the people's time. In Mexico there are, counting Sundays, one hundred and thirty-one religious holidays in the year, and more than half the people observe them all. In Greece the holy days eat up nearly a third of the year, and in Russia not over two hundred and fifty days in the year are left for work. In Abyssinia religion once claimed about half the time. The Protestant Reformation did away with most of the saints' days, but in atonement it developed a burdensome observance of Sunday, so that "Scotch Sabbath" and "Puritan Sabbath" have become bywords for iron repression of the most innocent pastimes.

An enlightened clergy may banish many folk superstitions, yet foster certain ones which serve its aims. Even after priests and pastors cease to teach that the course of Nature and of affairs is governed by a series of miracles known as "special Providences," and that health, security, and prosperity can be gained by prayers, fastings and offerings, they encourage an unwholesome solicitude for one's soul, leading to a morbid introspection and devotionism. The belief in a fixed natural order and the reign of law has come up in the last two hundred years, not by favor of the clergy, but in spite of them.

Great as are the services of higher religion in upholding conscience against impulse and self-interest, an ascendent spiritual class inevitably presents conduct in a false perspective. The traits which make for individual or community well-being—sobriety, truthfulness, fair dealing, helpfulness—are thrown into the shade by the religious qualities—devoutness, strict observance, church attendance and support. The offenses which grate most upon the theologians, such as heresy, blasphemy, scoffing, and neglect of "religious duties," are painted so black that lying, dishonesty, and violence look gray by comparison. Hence in the end you get a people austere and devout, but not truthful, loyal, and kindly.

Unresisted, theologians invariably impose the ascetic yoke. The

sacrifice of natural inclinations appeals strongly to those who have outgrown the burnt-offering notion of religion. Asia and medieval Europe bear the palm for self-inflicted bodily suffering to please God, but the ascetic poison took little hold of their laity. For an instance of a whole people blighted by misconceived religion one must look to the Scotch of the seventeenth century.

Every profession strives to exalt itself, and the clergy are no exception. In the absence of lawyers, scholars, and other educated groups to puncture their overweening pretensions, ministers will insist that they are ambassadors of God, that their commands from the pulpit are binding, that sudden mysterious calamities will fall upon scoffers, that Providence continually sets aside the laws of Nature on their behalf, that prodigies and portents attend the death of the man of God. They teach that it is dangerous to speak disrespectfully of a clergyman, to fail to salute him in passing, to cross him, or to sue him at law. The lives of eminent preachers written by their professional brethren abound in edifying stories designed to the end that clergymen be regarded with fear and awe.

Since the sacerdotal order rules by ideas, they try to control the whole intellectual life of society in order to uphold their influence. Under penalty of fine or imprisonment they force church attendance upon all. In order that the people might remain "pure," the Spanish clergy brought about the crushing of the Protestants and the expulsion of the Moors, while the Massachusetts theocracy persecuted Antinomians, Baptists, and Quakers. If they dare go so far, the clergy censor the reading of their flock, curb the press, bar out "disturbing" foreign books, and maintain a regular "index" of condemned writings. Moreover, they are jealous of any education not under their own control. Intent on keeping their people dependent on them, they never push popular education themselves and put every obstacle in the way of its being provided by the state. When they create schools of their own to compete with the public schools, the religious part of the curriculum quite overshadows the secular. While friendly to that higher learning which they can control and use, their suspicious fear of the increase of natural knowledge prompts them to denounce free inquiry and the liberty of teaching.

In short, of all despotisms that of the priest is worst—and the better man he is, the worse his despotism. Dictating to men in the name of God, he reduces both God and society to the measure of priestly conceptions. Whatever he proclaims as God's will is entitled to unques-

tioning obedience. Out of their mundane experience or common sense his flock can draw nothing to oppose to his obscurantism or fanaticism. His is the one despotism without check or limit.

MILITARISM

The undue ascendancy of the military profession gives rise to *militarism*. Such ascendancy is likely to occur when army and navy officers are drawn chiefly from a hereditary upper order, so that their *professional* prestige is reinforced by *class* prestige. This affinity between the nobility and the army may be an inheritance from feudalism, or it may be the result of deliberately petting, pampering, and privileging the officer military in order to draw into it those able to contribute most to its spirit and prestige. The militarist bias in society is, of course, financed and promoted by concessionaires, battleship builders, and armament makers.

When the fighting caste gives public opinion its key, the pursuits of the soldier are esteemed nobler than those of the civilian. Proficiency in war is deemed the be-all and end-all of national organization and effort. All sound men are looked upon as potential soldiers; all sound women, as potential mothers of soldiers; national resources and productive power, as possible sinews of war. The health of the masses is conserved, not out of concern for their welfare, but to preserve their military fitness. The idea rules that the people exist, not to live out their lives, but to win wars. A little folk with no such cheering hope is despised as cumberer of the earth. Army and fleet are not watchdogs to protect the people in their peaceful pursuits, but the means of imposing the national will on lower races, of "organizing" backward peoples, or of fulfilling "cultural missions" to unwilling neighbors.

War is deemed, not a horror, but "a biological necessity." Peace *within* the nation is priceless, but *between* nations it is "a dream and not even a beautiful dream." The resort to international violence is identified with the evolutionary "struggle for existence," and the losers of a war are branded as "unfit."

In militarist philosophy the state is not for the individual, but the individual is for the state. The aims of the state are not the happiness of its citizens nor the advancement of mankind, but mystic goals, vaguely related to civilization, the super-race, destiny, or God. National self-conceit is sedulously fostered by a pseudo-ethnology, a falsified history, and a systematic blackening of the character of rival peoples.

Militarism strangles liberal political development and strengthens

imperialistic tendencies. It is fond of dynasties and scorns democracy. The relation of the officer to his men gives the pattern for the relation of a government to its citizenry. The military chafe under civil authority, while they sneer at parliamentary debate as "mere talk." Since it is illogical to require the conscript to kill those whom he regards as defending their country, while not requiring of stay-at-homes the lesser sacrifice of keeping silent when they disapprove state policy, militarism calls for censorship of newspapers, suppression of public meetings, control of university professors and religious teachers, and the suppression of writers and speakers who criticize the war policy or take "the enemy point of view."

COMMERCIALISM

When traders, manufacturers, capitalists, and bankers wield the bâton, *commercialism* reigns. The recent extraordinary infatuation of Americans with this class suggest that such a tendency is natural when the big economic tasks which press upon a young and growing country have lent extra importance to the business man, when business has attracted an overlarge share of national ability, and when the commercial spirit is held in check neither by aristocratic traditions nor by strongly organized liberal professions. Since the small business men take their cue from the great merchants, financiers, and heads of big enterprises, in an era of commercialism these, their spokesmen, become the leaders and tone-givers of society.

The tone they give reflects, of course, their characteristic habits of thought so far as these have not been qualified or neutralized by non-business influences. Now, one who is a business man and nothing else slips easily into the fallacy of ignoring non-economic goods and of rating well-being by dollar income. What he desiderates is *prosperity* rather than *welfare*. The only wealth that is real to him is bankable wealth. Values that are not pecuniary values, such as *public health, race vigor, natural beauty, scientific progress, moral tone, and ideals of life*, he will sacrifice when they interfere with national or personal gain. His ideal is high wages, big salaries, and fat dividends, so that whatever stands in the way of maximizing these "hurts business" and is anathema. He cannot see that there are business profits which cost some of us ten times their worth in salubrity, or quiet, or peace of mind. Such a man is tender with poisonous smelter fumes, grade crossings, factory smoke, and noisy advertising, because he can realize the money cost of suppressing them, but not the harm which they do.

So long as business men of this limited vision lay their spell upon the public mind, "success" means the same as "business success"—that is, making money. A candidate's trump card is the promise of a "business" administration. The highest compliment that can be paid a philanthropic, religious, or educational scheme is to pronounce it "business-like"; whereas a man is insulted if you call his business "philanthropic," or "religious," or "educational"! A school board must be a "business" board, scholars should be picked and officered by a business man as university president, and the ultimate control of churches, colleges, and charities is left to the solid men of business whose money makes these possible.

A business man's success in his undertakings may be roughly gauged by the money he has been able to make under the accepted codes, but the success of the divine, jurist, officer, statesman, scholar, thinker, artist, or poet is not properly measured by his gain. Nevertheless, under commercialism the money yardstick will benaïvely applied to each and every kind of achievement, with the result that alongside successful business men the head men in every line of intellectual or idealistic endeavor will look like dwarfs. As the public comes to feel this, cupidity will be sharpened and corruption will invade every type of structure in society.

A commercial-minded people idolizes those who line its pockets. Employers who pay the wages and salaries that keep many families are hailed as the chief public benefactors and are given whatever they ask. On the other hand, the surgeon who establishes a new operation, the experimenter who finds the antidote for a deadly disease, the breeder whose discoveries in heredity open vistas of race improvement, the missionary who civilizes a savage folk, the projector of a new education, the founder of a great social settlement—these are not "men who do things." For they give blessings, mere blessings, but not money income!

The idea that you must not disturb persons making money, just as you must not disturb bees secreting wax, causes the public good to be sacrificed out of a superstitious reverence for business. Nature's stores of wealth are not conserved for posterity, lest opportunities for immediate profit be curtailed. The nation allows itself to become a polyglot boarding house, because mill-owners, mine operators, contractors, and railroad companies insist on an unlimited flow of cheap alien labor. Property is put above human life, and lawmakers stay their hand

when business men predict ruin if they are required to make their work places safe and sanitary.

Government is looked upon, not as guardian of every great public interest, but as bulwark of property rights and maintainer of conditions favorable to making money. Its master-aim is business prosperity, on the theory "Make employers content and they will make the people content." Such government services as public health, conservation, education, recreation, and charities are starved in order to keep taxes low or to subsidize private enterprises for profit; or else the prisons are run to make money for prison contractors, the parks, to enrich street-car companies, the schools, to provide employers with cheap youth skilled at the public expense, the public-utilities commission, to make a market for issues of corporation securities.

The commercial fallacy befuddles society to the point of being no longer able to know its bad from its good. Things plainly anti-social, such as the liquor-traffic, race-track gambling, and commercialized prostitution, are spared on the ground that they are "businesses." Then, too, the open vice shop "brings people to town." A movement to clean up a rotten city government is deprecated as "hurting business." Chicanery is all right if it is merely "the tricks of the trade." A crime committed without malice and merely in the way of business is condoned. The people are taught that speculation is not gambling, that tax dodging is not larceny, that railroad rebating is not treachery, that free transportation passes are not bribery, that deleterious adulteration is not murder. The large-scale malefactor of high finance goes unpunished because he is a "Napoleon," a "superman," "asserting the higher law which great enterprises have the right to command."

LEGALISM

No society has ever been dominated by the legal profession, but at times in certain American communities lawyers have been ascendent to such an extent as to reveal their bias. The great contribution of this profession is their appreciation of the vast importance of definite, known, and enforceable rights in the economic development of society. When lawyers dominate the mind of the community there is a tendency, however, to look upon rights as *ends* rather than as *means*. If the legal rights *look* reasonable, the lawyer is not apt to concern himself greatly with how they work out in practice. He also reveres the forms of law and sympathizes with the sacrifice of substantial justice in order

to preserve inviolate the form. He overlooks that law and courts, like any other social agency, must meet the test of practical efficiency.

LEISURE CLASS ASCENDANCY

As corrective of unwholesome social tendencies the leadership of those who do not have to work for a living may be most salutary. This class may temper male ascendancy by diffusing that idealization of woman which grew up with medieval chivalry and gave birth to "lady" worship. Its love of pleasure may serve to counteract the morbid asceticism and "other-worldliness" which sometimes radiates from the clergy. Taking the enjoyer's point of view rather than the trader's, this class may check commercialism by insisting on valuing a thing or an activity by what it can add to life and not by what it will fetch.

But when the leisure class has the last word on everything, its influence may be very noxious. Exempt itself from labor, it makes leisure the cardinal index to superiority and meets all who would enter its charmed circle with the challenge, Do you work for a living? Out among the plain people, who, like Atlas, support the world on their shoulders, runs like devil grass the fantastic idea that work is disgraceful, until millions who have nothing to look forward to but the common lot are set at odds with their bread and butter. This is well-nigh as bad as if evil *djinns* should persuade us to be ashamed of breathing or eating or any other necessary function. Not only do sensitive and aspiring workers come to hate their work, but, in order to avoid the ignominious thing, the shrewd crowd into shady occupations and invent numberless ways of "living by one's wits." At the threshold of the leisure class forms a corrupt half-world of *demi-mondaines*, procurers, hangers-on, gamblers, touts, charlatans, swindlers, bravos, "gentlemen of fortune," and other higher parasites, which, like an abscess, continually pours out moral infection. This is the chief cause of the rottenness which characterizes the later stages of an aristocratic society.

It is the custom of leisure-class families to keep about them numerous servants, ostensibly to render their masters personal service but really to perform "vicarious leisure," to use Veblen's happy phrase. So there grows up among them a sense of the shamefulness of waiting on yourself, which spreads out from the leisure class and prompts people who can ill afford it to pay some menial to do for them things they could easily do for themselves. It is felt demeaning to clean your clothes, black your boots, carry your luggage, roll your baby carriage, answer your doorbell, wait on your table, groom your horses, or wash

your car. In order to hire these things done for them, the middle class scrimp on necessities and have few children, while living is made dearer for all because too many workers abandon production in order to render superfluous services.

The prestige of a leisure class rests on *conspicuous waste* as well as on *conspicuous leisure*. At the social summit, to be sure, are some so sure of their place that they are free to lead a "simple" life, but in general the leisured develop a prodigal manner of life, which most of the useful people accept as the *only* proper way of living. They feel that nothing adorns like precious stones; nothing is beautiful unless made of costly materials; no raiment is fine but silk and broadcloth. There is nothing for furniture like rosewood and mahogany; for the palate, like champagne and truffles; for pleasure, like a theater party or a meet with the hounds. There is no society but the joint enjoyment of the expensive, no marriage save a church wedding, no rest save at a watering-place hotel. Thus foppish standards, begotten of spenders' rivalry, leach out through society and corrupt sound home-bred notions of what is fit, or decent, or worth while. People come to scorn the joys at their elbow and pine for luxuries out of their reach. Ungratified worldliness gnaws at the heart of multitudes, while greed is whetted till even decent men turn to monopoly, extortion, chicane, and acquisitive crime.

When the new-rich force their way into high society with a torrent of expenditure no social barriers can withstand, the effect on public morals is yet more disastrous. The spectacle of their baronial estates, princely houses, liveried lackeys, and Sybaritic luxury contaminates even hard-headed persons with wealth worship. People fall apart into as many exclusive social groups as there are styles of living and forget how to meet their fellow-men on the level. You are snob to those below and toady to those above you, so that the higher are cankered with pride, the lower with envy. If the working millions accept these values they cease to respect themselves and will in the end let themselves be governed by the wealthy.

LEADERS AND LED

Not only should leaders of one bias be balanced by leaders of another bias, but a just balance should be preserved between *leaders* and *led*. Let us designate as "intellectuals" those from whom leadership would naturally be expected, while the to-be-led may be called "the plain people." Now, it will be bad for society if at every fork in the road the

intellectuals stride ahead along what they think is the right road, while the plain people follow them with a childlike trust. The matter is by no means so simple. The intellectuals should be willing to give reasons, while the plain people should keep their eyes open and use their common sense.

In American experience we find certain matters in which the intellectuals saw the truth before the plain people, and the latter learned to see through their eyes. Such are the upholding of the public credit, the conservation of natural resources, the promotion of scientific research, civil service reform, appreciation of the expert in the public service, efficiency in government, the isolation of contagious diseases, public-health protection, compulsory vaccination, scientific charity, and eugenics. Vision in such matters calls for a fuller knowledge or a wider range of observation than the average uneducated person possesses.

There is another group of matters on which the plain people take a stand without needing the initiative of intellectuals. Such are what are termed "moral questions," i.e., questions which are answered out of one's moral perceptions rather than out of special knowledge. Of this type are the abolition of slavery and peonage, the suppression of prostitution and the liquor traffic, the humanization of punishments, the suppression of Mormon polygamy, the protection of the home, religious toleration, and international peace. Here the rôle of leaders has been to direct attention rather than to persuade.

In certain other matters the plain people took a stand long before the intellectuals were heard from. Thus the government regulation of railroads was an article of faith among farmers in the seventies of the last century, while it received the late and grudging acquiescence of professional and business men not earlier than the nineties. The prevention of industrial accidents, the prohibition of child labor, and the protection of working women were in the program of the American labor unions for twenty years before it became respectable to support them. So has it been with homestead laws, rural credit, postal savings banks, the graduated income tax, the fight on the "Pinkerton" plague. The reason is that on these questions the farmers or the wage-earners drew upon an experience which the intellectuals utterly lacked. They knew where the shoe pinched, for they had to wear it. Moreover, the economic self-interest of the intellectuals, or of the classes they affiliate with, has in some cases been squarely against reform. If, then, the plain people had waited for the intellectuals to take notice of their

grievances and to guide them to redress, they would have waited till the crack of doom.

The balance to be struck between the educated and the people depends on a number of things: on the nature of the questions that come up, on the plane of popular intelligence, on the familiarity of the people with methods of public discussion and debate, on their experience in following argument, on their skill in detecting the demagogue, on the fulness of the control they exercise over their government, on the complexity of society, and on the nature of the education, the intellectual habits, and the disinterestedness of the elements that would lead the people.

CONCLUSION

In the piloting of society no valuable element should have either too little influence or too much influence. When a ganglion of gray matter is not left free to do well its proper work or when it cannot get a fair hearing for its good ideas and hence is not making to the intelligent guidance of the whole that contribution which it is capable of making, it has too little influence. When, on the other hand, it is so ascendent as to make all the rest the victim of its special psychology, it has too much influence. Thus we arrive at *the principle of balance*, which may be formulated as follows: *In the guidance of society each social element should share according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members* AND NONE SHOULD DOMINATE.

QUIZ QUESTIONS

1. What is the objection to any single social element dominating society?
2. What is the rule of the dead and what effects does it have?
3. What are the evil tendencies in masculinism?
4. What are the objections to clericalism?
5. What sort of leadership does the military profession give society?
6. What fallacies prevail when the business men are ascendant?
7. Good and bad points of leisure-class ascendancy.
8. What considerations determine how the balance shall be struck between the educated and the people?
9. State the principle of balance.

EXERCISES

321. Would you be willing to see as many juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations presided over by women judges as by men judges?
322. Would it be a good thing for religion if a goodly proportion of clergymen and bishops were women?

323. Does the unwillingness of men to work under a woman superior forbid us to make women heads of administrative departments?
324. How does the tendency of local business men to unite into Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, etc., affect their attitude toward the rest of society?
325. Is it true that a condition of "brisk business" is always the best thing for the community?
326. What can we do to counteract the unwholesome influence of a leisure class?
327. Why is the "dictatorship of the proletariat" a pernicious heresy?

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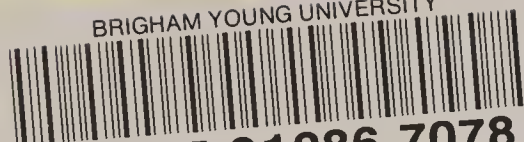
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